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A PLAYMATE
OF PHILIP II

Uniform with this Volume

THE STORY OF DON
JOHN OF AUSTRIA. By
PADRE LUIS COLEMA, S.J. (of
the Real Academia Española).
Translated from the Spanish by
LADY MORETON. With Photo-
gravure Frontispiece and 24 other
Illustrations.



*Don Martin de Gurrea y Aragón
Count of Ribagorza, Duke of Villahermosa*

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C. K. OGDEN

A PLAYMATE OF PHILIP II

BEING THE HISTORY OF DON
MARTIN OF ARAGON, DUKE OF
VILLAHERMOSA, AND OF DOÑA
LUISA DE BORJA HIS WIFE
BY LADY MORETON

WITH SEVENTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

THE works, without which this book could not have been written, came into my hands through the kindness and courtesy of the Duke of Luna, who not only gave me permission to make use of them and to reproduce the pictures, but himself made several notes about the little-known painter, Rolam de Mois.

Except for a short memoir written as an introduction to the "Discourses," by Don Ramon Melida, who, as librarian to the family, enjoyed unique opportunities of consulting the archives, the life of Don Martin of Aragon, Duke of Villahermosa, has never been told, even in Spanish.

On the other hand, the biography of his saintly wife has been exhaustively written three times ; first by Padre Muniesa in 1691, at the instance of Doña Maria Guzman, wife of the ninth Duke ; then the late Duchess of Villahermosa instructed Don Valentin Carduera in 1876, and later Padre Norell in 1897, to write two further memoirs of the holy Duchess.

It is from this last work, the "Discourses" and an album of the proceedings of the Cervantes celebrations held in Saragossa in 1905 (which

was also compiled by Señor Melida by the direction of the Duchess) that the facts narrated are chiefly taken. In truth the story is little more than a patchwork of them, and in the words of one of Cordova's Sultans, "Just as a tailor useth his needle to sew together pieces of cloth, so I" have stitched the shreds one to another with such threads of history as seem to make the sense more clear, striving to keep in view the poet Southey's advice and "to omit none of those little circumstances which give life to narration, and bring old manners, old feelings, and old times before your eyes."

As references have been as far as possible omitted, it may be well to say that no statement has been made without authority, and that readers can accept the sketch as a slight, but true, account of how the "first of the eight families of Aragon" lived, and loved and died nearly four centuries ago, in a "Château en Espagne," not of dreams, but of fabric so solid that it still remains the home of the same ancient race.

A recent Portuguese author has said that there are periods which have the gift of attracting the interest of the cultivated, and names which have the power of awakening popular imagination. As instances he quotes the Renaissance, and the daughters of Emanuel the Fortunate, of Portugal.

If such perennial interest can be claimed for the Empress Isabel and her sisters, it may certainly with even greater reason be urged as regards her husband Charles V, and her son Philip II, of Spain. Therefore it may be hoped that the quaint touches respecting them, which peep out here and there in the life history of that kinsman whom Philip dubbed the "Philosopher of Aragon," and other members of the Villahermosa family, will not be devoid of interest.

My best thanks are due to Mrs. Emery for allowing me to reproduce her beautiful picture of Philip II by Titian, and to Sir Hugh Lane for giving me permission to use his photograph of it, also to my husband for all his help.

A. M. M.

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A PLAYMATE
OF PHILIP II

CHAPTER I

“**Y**OUR friend the philosopher of Aragon is dead,” announced Philip II of Spain one day to Cardinal Granvelle.

“And your Majesty has lost a great vassal, who for this reason was my friend,” was the diplomatic answer of the statesman. To say more would probably have been impolitic, for Don Martin of Aragon, Duke of Villahermosa, who, by his fortitude in braving his many misfortunes, well merited the name of philosopher, had been the playmate of Philip’s childhood, but later the victim of his stern justice.

One spring day, nearly four centuries ago and more than fifty years before the above conversation took place, joy reigned in the Castle of Pedrola, for a little son had been born to its lord, Don Alonso Felipe of Aragon, the great Count of Ribagorza. The mother of the baby, Doña Ana de Sarmiento, was the Count’s third wife, and had already been married to him for twelve long years. Time after time his great wish for an heir had been disappointed, as it would appear that all his thirteen daughters were older than this “child of the miracle,” who was

born on Friday, March 27, 1526; therefore the father's delight can be easily understood.

Early in the preceding summer the Count and Countess had made the long, weary pilgrimage on foot from their home at Pedrola, near Saragossa, to Osella in the Pyrenees; there to crave at the shrine of St. Martin the blessing hitherto withheld from them. Hardly had they regained their home than they had hopes that their prayers were to be answered, so it was only natural that the baby should receive the name of Martin, instead of John or Alonzo like his forebears. It was possibly also in compliance with some strange vow to the holy Bishop who gave half his cloak to the beggar, that the parents chose as sponsors to this precious child two poor persons, who, as Don Martin's biographer quaintly observes, probably henceforward ceased to be so.

Nothing more is known of the first years of the child, who grew up to play a part as a great noble in the splendid days of Spain's prosperity, and from whom it is most probable that Cervantes drew the figure of the Duke in Don Quixote; but it may well be assumed that in spite of a long stiff frock he had already begun to toddle about the wide courtyard of Pedrola, when one June morning, some fifteen months later, his father, Don Alonso Felipe, set out for Valladolid, through the country grey with its

veil of wild lavender, to attend the christening of the little kinsman, who was afterwards Philip II, son of the Emperor Charles and his wife Isabel. It will be well to explain at once why the children were relations.

Don Alonso Felipe of Aragon was the great grandson of John II, King of Aragon, descended from a son of that monarch who, for his valour, had been created Duke of Villahermosa and given the County of Ribagorza, then the greatest fief a subject could hold, and formerly an independent state. By a noble lady, Doña Maria Junquers, whom he caused his soldiers to abduct, no unwilling victim, from her father's house, he had a son called John, an heroic figure who deserves more than a passing notice, as not only did he serve his country by filling great offices, but was moreover a pioneer of the Renaissance in Spain, his love of antiques having been acquired, no doubt, in Naples during his Viceroyalty, in which he succeeded the "Gran Capitan." He was created Duke of Luna by the Catholic King. Many years earlier King John (to show his approval of the way Ribagorza was defended during the Duke's absence by the aforementioned Doña Maria) had acknowledged Don John as a grandson, and not only had granted the County to him, but desired by will that he should marry the great heiress, called on that account the "Rica Hembra," Doña

Maria López de Gurrea. The wedding took place on St. John's day 1479, the bride being decked out in tawny cloth with green velvet stripes and a golden necklace. This learned lady brought Pedrola and many other possessions into her husband's family, as well as the surname of Gurrea, which legend affirmed had been bestowed by King Pedro of Aragon on her ancestors for their valiant deeds against the Moors at the battle of Alcoraz, 1094. It is best to tell the curious story about her and the swallow in her grandson Don Martin's own words. "This same have I heard certified by my father, the Count Don Alonso, as having happened to my grandmother the Duchess of Luna, Doña Maria López de Gurrea, at one of my places called Pedrola. It was this: this lady knew three languages perfectly, having had a very learned master, she studied Greek and Hebrew with a Dutch Rabbi who lived in my town of Luna, where there were rich Jews. Once in a tower to which these birds (swallows) often came, either from curiosity or remembering what Pliny had written, she caught a swallow and in a quill of his wing put a tiny writing in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, with the date, and saying where and by whom it had been caught, and then let it go; the next year when it came back to its nest she had the curiosity to catch it, and she recognized the quill and found an answer, which said that the



DOÑA MARIA LÓPEZ DE GURREA, COUNTESS OF RIBAGORZA,
CALLED THE RICA HEMBRA

From picture in the Villahermosa Palace, Madrid, repainted by Rolam de Moïs

swallow had been caught in Jerusalem by a Greek priest in his house, and naming the day and hour."

At her death Pedrola passed to her son, to whom later his father also gave the County of Ribagorza, a territory fifteen leagues long, in the province of Huesca, which was separated from France by the Pyrenees, and contained three hundred and fifty villages. The Count must therefore have been well endowed with this world's goods, and no doubt was riding forth in all the state the circumstances demanded, as to quote his own words to his steward, some years later, "There are occasions when a gentleman should make a show."

It may also be safely conjectured that the retinue was well mounted, for the breeding of horses was the Count's favourite hobby, and he established a stud of Andalucian horses on his property. His delight was to keep beautiful mares, whose action and swiftness were the joy of all beholders when he rode them himself, which he often did, being a very fine horseman. Fond of playing in cane jousts, he used to direct his lackeys to place a gold piece between his foot and the stirrup. If it were still there on his return it became their property; but if he had lost it, he gave them two gold pieces.

The Count was at this time about forty, a tall,

handsome, dignified man, with a merry, jovial face. He was, no doubt, dressed as usual and wearing a long coat, wide sleeves with ribbons and gold buttons, a close-fitting hood, shoes and gaiters, the picture of a great Lord of the period on the way to the Court of the Sovereign, who, five years before, had written to him from Ghent, "In truth we are very pleased with you concerning all the foregoing and thank you much. Though it is no new thing, as your ancestors and you have always served the Crown well."¹

Two years after writing this Charles V had chosen him to accompany the Duchess of Alençon "*la sage et docte Marguerite*" on her journey through Aragon, when she went to visit her captive brother Francis I of France in Madrid,² and greater compliment still, in the previous year the Count had gone in Charles's company to receive that monarch's wife and cousin, Doña Isabel, daughter of Emanuel the

¹ "*Anales de Aragón.*" Zayas and other authorities.

² The letter ran thus: "The King. Illustrious Count our Kinsman. Madame de Lanzon, sister of the Very Serene King of France, comes to us for reasons that are very important to our Kingdom, and we wish her to be treated as if she were our own person. We beg you to go as far as Fraga to receive and escort her to the limits of this Kingdom, doing all you can to oblige and entertain her. We assure you this will be rendering us much pleasure and service. Given in Toledo, July 23, 1525. I the King."

National Library, Madrid.

Fortunate, King of Portugal. To attend the baptism of this lady's first born son was the object of Don Alonso Felipe's present journey. As he rode, his thoughts may have turned to the simple christening of his own little heir, or perhaps may have strayed to a more imposing ceremony, when Charles's former tutor, Pope Adrian VI, had, during a sojourn at Pedrola, himself baptized the Count's short-lived little daughter Andriana, whose memorial still exists in the parish church of that place.

The baptism of the Infante who was afterwards Philip II and husband of Queen Mary Tudor took place in the Convent of St. Paul on June 5, 1527. The name of Philip was, doubtless, given as being that of Charles's father, Philip of Burgundy, celebrated more for his good looks and white hands than for his merits. Possibly the parents thought by so doing they would gratify poor, mad Queen Joan, who still lingered not very far away in her dreary quasi prison.

Few children had ever been born heirs to such a goodly heritage as this grandson of "Los Reyes Catolicos." His mother "looked with reverential awe upon her own child, so great and important to mankind was held to be the inheritance to which he was heir,"¹ even

¹ Major Martin Hume.

fancying before his birth that she was bearing a "mappa mundi."¹

This inheritance comprised not only Spain and part of Italy, Mexico and other countries of the New World, but also Flanders, Burgundy, Artois, and Luxembourg. The imperial crown which Charles was to wear two years later, having been elected King of the Romans in 1519 on the death of his grandfather, did not pass to his son.

Spain, it will be remembered, at that date had been one Kingdom for a comparatively short period. First Castille and Aragon had been united in 1479 by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabel, and when the Moorish stronghold of Granada fell (1492) and Boabdil, called the "Little King" on account of his want of courage, had fled away by the road still called "The Last Sigh of the Moor," Los Reyes Catolicos ruled over an united Spain.

To Isabel, "the greatest and best queen that ever swayed an independent sceptre,"² also belongs the glory of having helped Christopher Columbus to realize his dream of finding new lands beyond the western ocean. English readers may like to fancy that her Plantagenet forebears can have endowed her with the spirit of adventure as well as with the ruddy hue of her fair hair.

¹ Raymond Clauzel.

² Miss Strickland.

By the death of her only brother and eldest sister, Joan, the second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabel,¹ became their heiress. She had married Philip of Burgundy, son of the Emperor Maximilian, and with her husband was ruling over the Low Countries.

Poor Joan did not earn her surname of "the Mad" for nothing, and after her husband's death in Spain, her jealous devotion to him while living was changed to a no less morbid passion for him while dead.

This is not the place to tell how, after the death of Isabel, the policy of her widower was a selfish one, nor of the rising of the "Comuneros," nor of other events of those stormy days. Suffice it to say that when the Catholic King died, although Joan, "by the laws of Castille and Aragon, as well as by the testament of Isabella and Ferdinand, was undisputed sovereign,"² Charles 'assumed the title of King.' His mother lived nearly as long as he did; for between the cares of his vast empire and wars, in which his arms were directed now against the Most Christian King, now against heretic princes or infidel pirates, the Cæsar was a worn-out old man when he put off the purple and retired

¹ Catherine of Aragon was their youngest child, the other daughter married the King of Portugal, and was mother of Empress Isabel.

² Coxe's "House of Austria."

to peaceful Yuste, dying before he was sixty, gout, no doubt, as well as this strenuous life causing premature decay, gluttony perhaps also assisting; for to quote Mignet, "*il était maître de son âme dans les diverses extrémités de la fortune, il n'était pas de son estomac à table.*"¹

This was, however, all in the future, and on the day when his blue eyes rested proudly on his first born son, he no doubt appeared as tall, and his limbs as straight and slim as he did to Beatis ten years previously.²

The ceremony of receiving the child into the Church—the child who was to be one of its most devoted sons—was conducted, as was meet, with much pomp. Don Alonso Felipe speaks of it as the "*fiesta.*"

At the christening, as the great lords were standing together in the Emperor's presence, one of them, the Count of Olivares, spoke rudely to Don Alonso Felipe, who, not being the man to brook an insult, sent his aggressor the following challenge, written on parchment: "Don Pedro de Guzman. To-day at the festival you were rude to me before the Emperor, as you know, without reason. And because you are aware that this conduct is discourteous to one

¹ Coxe, however, asserts that he was "temperate in his diet"—"House of Austria."

² "Voyage du Cardinal D'Aragon."



DON JUAN DE ARAGÓN, COUNT OF RIBAGORZA, DUKE OF LUNA
From picture in the Villahermosa Palace, Madrid, repainted by Roland de Moïs

such as I am, know that I will await you on horseback, riding 'a la estradiota,'¹ alone with sword and cloak, across the bridge over the Douro near our Lady of the Meadow; from ten o'clock to midnight."

The Count sent this challenge by a page of noble birth, and hied him forth to the appointed place of meeting. But the nobles and magistrates had got wind of the affair, and resolved to prevent it; so to his astonishment he was arrested by the Court Magistrate in the name of the Emperor. As they were escorting him the Constable of Castille came and said that, as Chief Justice of the nobles, the prize was his, and so bore Don Alonso Felipe off to his own house, where he was treated with the greatest respect and consideration, and was visited by his relations and the whole Court. All admired and applauded his conduct and took his part, and when the news reached Aragon every one rejoiced to hear it, except the old Duke Castellan, his father, who wrote from his house at Bonavia to reprove his son, calling the affair "a childish prank." "Thank God," he goes on, "they tell me that you are safe and not harmed by the gentleman."

The year after he wrote this letter Duke John died, on July 5, 1528, at Monzon, where he had gone to attend the Cortes.

¹ Riding with long stirrups.

The old Duke was a fine straightforward character ; a fact which is borne out by his honesty in refusing a Cardinal's hat, saying that as he had not entered the Church by the door, he did not wish to do so by the window.

The story of his cutting the flesh off round a wound in his leg caused by a poisoned bolt from a crossbow, due to the carelessness of a servant during a hunting expedition, as he meanwhile tried to hearten his followers, is proof enough of his courage. While his speech to his master, Ferdinand of Aragon, who had made him the dupe of his double dealing, and had deprived him of the Viceroyalty of Naples, shows what a faithful servant he really was. After thanking the King for saying his services had been of value, he continues respecting the Viceroyalty of Barcelona, which the King desired him to undertake for a second time. "About going to Catalonia, I know what this office was, and I want to rest at home, but I will not do either the one or the other, but will go to serve your Majesty in this war against France in Navarre in which my son is serving with fifty lances at his own cost."

He was one of the great lords in whose presence the Catholic King made his will on April 26, 1515, and two years later Charles V, on arriving in Spain, wrote to him from the royal

ship, addressing him as "Our Illustrious and very Reverend Uncle," according to a graceful, if puzzling, habit, which still obtains in Spain of thus naming any relation of an earlier generation.

CHAPTER II

DURING the many lengthy periods when Charles V was absent from Spain his Empress acted as Regent, and writers testify to the dreary state and conventional austerity of her Court. She was in the habit of shutting herself up with her ladies and, after passing long hours in prayer, sitting silent in darkened rooms. Well may a modern biographer call it a "grisaille" existence. Yet in this she was only following in the footsteps of her mother, Queen Maria of Portugal, who led the same ascetic life amidst the culture and magnificence of her husband's Court.

It is also asserted that Isabel was not a loving mother, "most careful that her child should be treated with the respect due to a son of Charles V, and for this reason paying more attention to vanity than to the impulses of affection,"¹ writes one. "In the atmosphere of hushed reverence and rigid sacrifice to Imperial ends"—"Philip was never allowed to forget for an hour the destiny with all its duties, its responsibilities and its power, for which he was taught that God had

¹ Formeron.

especially selected him as the son of his father," says Major Martin Hume.

Perhaps it was because his own parent was so impassive that Philip declared his governess, Doña Leonora Mascareña, had been a mother to him ; though from her picture this lady looks as if she too might have been severe, in spite of her beautiful, kind eyes.

That the stern etiquette, however, was sometimes relaxed is shown by the following letter to the Emperor from the little Prince's tutor, Don Pedro Gonzalez, which from internal evidence must have been written on May 21, 1531.

" H.H. went out in Toledo on a little machine, and he would not allow himself to be placed in the saddle but (mounted) by setting his foot in the stirrup. We went on foot, the Marques de Lombay on one side and I on the other, holding him ; the people crowded so that we could not make our way through the streets. He joked with H.M. and was delighted to find himself riding. To-day he has gone to return thanks for his birthday ; he is four and appears more." ¹

Nothing could be less like the portrait which the name of Philip II suggests to the average British mind than this one of the merry little Prince, with hair more golden than the broom of his native land, gaily chattering to his mother as he proudly bestrides " his little machine."

¹ Lafuentes' " History."

To attempt to dissect Philip's complicated nature would be to court worse disasters than any which could have befallen the little Prince as he rode through the uneven streets of Toledo, still, as each one forms his mental picture, let him remember that Philip had a very human side to his character ; that he loved art, himself painting and writing verses ; that he had a discriminating taste for Church music, and delighted in the nightingale's song, that to his daughters, at least, he was an affectionate father ; and although all his four alliances were political, a kind husband ; nor were whispers of less honourable attachments lacking.

The Court, grave or gay, was then the best school of manners for the children of the great, so it is not surprising that Don Martin's parents should have made the sacrifice of parting with him, and should have obtained for him the position of "menino" or page to Empress Isabel and Prince Philip. So between the Castles of Toledo and Madrid he spent his childhood, not only learning those "things which a Christian should know and believe for his soul's health" and the dry lessons which were then considered necessary for his mental equipment, but also much else which can only be acquired by rubbing shoulders with the world.

About the life led by the Prince and his pages, Don Pedro again obligingly lifts a corner of the

curtain, and reveals something in another letter to the Emperor. "The Prince is of an age that H.H. changes from day to day ; I cannot help telling some of the things he says, as they are worth remembering. May your Majesty bear a father's blushes patiently. Yesterday a lady asked him to receive a page, and he would not, and said that he had a great many, and that he could not take him, and that he might be given to his sister who had none. He was told that she was too young to have pages ; then he replied, ' Seek some other Prince, as there are plenty about.' This your Majesty can believe as it was said before many witnesses. His pastime is to have jousts for children with lighted candles for lances ; but the real struggle is with Dr. Villalobos who put a stop to all this and with whom H.H. is sometimes very angry, as he does not allow him to eat all he wishes. He is such a madcap that at times her Majesty really gets vexed ; she has beaten him with her hands, and women were not lacking who cried to see such cruelty."¹

History does not relate if Don Martin was a Knight of the Candle ; but it is very probable, as the little boys seem to have been great friends, going hunting together in the Pardo, the great park which stretches away towards the Guadarama mountains. Moreover, it was no

¹ Archives Sinmanacasas.

doubt Prince Philip who laid the foundation of Don Martin's collection of coins by giving him one from among those presented by the Viceroy of Sardinia. This was always carefully treasured by Don Martin, though he says in his "Discourses" that it was only one common in Carthage. It is unlikely that either of the children was aware of this fact; more probably the figure of the horse on the reverse would make it seem valuable to them.

Leaving the Prince and his page to their games and studies, a story of the disagreement between their fathers must be told here, as after much careful argument Señor Melida seems to have proved conclusively that it took place at the Cortes of Monzon in 1533.

The Emperor had convoked this assembly from Genoa, and as usual the four Estates or "Arms" as they were named of the three kingdoms (Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia) responded to the call. It was of vital importance to Charles that one of his propositions should be adopted.¹ What this was is not exactly known;

¹ The Emperor must have known how tenacious the members of the Cortes were of their rights, as when his grandmother Isabel was made Regent during the absence of her husband, Ferdinand, a law had to be passed to enable the sergeant-porter to open the door in order that she might take the necessary oath. "Life of Charles V"—Robertson.



DON ALONSO FELIPE DE GURREA Y ARAGÓN, COUNT OF RIBAGORZA
From picture in the Villahermosa Palace, Madrid, repainted by Roland de Moir

but it is presumed that it referred to a subsidy of 200,000 crowns to help defray the cost of his Italian, German and Austrian campaigns, an account of which he had read at the opening of the Cortes. He knew if he could get the votes of the nobles he would also get that of the knights and "hidalgos," as well as those of the Church and Universities. It was suggested to him that in order to bring this about, it would be a good plan to have a private talk with the Count of Ribagorza, as being the first and most important of the nobles. Charles approved of this idea; and Don Alonso Felipe was therefore summoned to the private chamber set apart for the Emperor in the Church, where the Cortes were held. When the Count appeared Charles said to him, "You know how much I esteem you and the great obligation you are under to please me and to manage that all your 'Arm' should do as I ask." ¹

The Count found it difficult to promise this, as he considered the Emperor's wish against "fuero" and also prejudicial to the welfare of the kingdom, so he tried to excuse himself; then the monarch began to press him, on which he again excused himself; but in such a way that it seemed as if he had come over to the Emperor's side and would favour the demand.

¹ "Charles V"—Robertson.

A word of explanation regarding the "fueros"¹ of Aragon may, perhaps, make this story more clear.

They were really a Magna Charta. The Justiciary was the guardian of these rights, and was always elected from the second-class knights, as the "ricohombres" or nobles were not subject to capital punishment.² Anyone could appeal to him who had a grievance against the King, whose power was much diminished by the "fueros," which went so far as to enact that, if a King should ever break them, another ruler might be elected, even were he a pagan. The King was chosen to guard these privileges by those who said, "We, who count for as much as you and have more power than you."³

It is easy to imagine that these "fueros" were

¹ Some of the old fueros are very curious; for instance, in Salamanca there was one to fine those selling salt with sand in it; in Sepulveda one ordering bakers to get up very early; and in Caceres another forbidding a dead dog, pig or *Moor* to be thrown into the street.—Gamazo.

² Philip II sent soldiers to Saragossa when Antonio Perex fled there, claiming the protection of the Justiciary, who was executed in the market-place, a quarrel in which Don Alonso Felipe's grandson was involved. This was in 1591, and in 1707 the "fueros" were solemnly abrogated by Philip V. The "Deputation" edited the collection of the fueros, and had the aid of famous chroniclers such as Zurita and Agensola.

³ Robertson, in his "Life," 1792, says that he has been unable to find a confirmation of this in "Zurita" or other authorities, but that Antonio Perez gives the actual words of the declaration.

not to the taste of monarchs like Charles V or Philip II.

To return to the Cortes of Monzon of 1533. When the Emperor's proposition was put to it, the mover, who, according to custom, settled who should speak or vote, first from one side of the Assembly and then from the other in turns, called on the Count of Ribagorza to vote first ; he, not wishing to betray his trust, voted against the measure. All followed suit ; as to all it appeared contrary to the fueros.

The Emperor, hearing of this, summoned Don Alonso Felipe again to his presence, and when he came the furious monarch spoke in a manner which took the other's breath away, and, as each grew more and more angry, the Emperor, saying that the Count had failed him, seized him by the shoulder and dragged him to the door of the room and threw him outside, putting his hand on his dagger with such a violent gesture that those present were frightened and tried to slam the door, so as to put the Count behind it. Don Alonso Felipe, doubtless also in a great rage, would not allow this ; but, being on his knees, placed his hand on the door so that it could not be shut, and said, " I am not a vassal towards whom your Majesty should behave thus, or dismiss me from your presence without giving me your royal hand to kiss ! " On hearing this, the Emperor recovered himself and said, " Get

up. I could not help feeling more angry with you than with the rest, as it seemed to me that you were under greater obligations to please me than the others, so I trusted to you."

Then the Count rose up and kissed Charles's hand. Upon this the Cæsar said, "A vassal who has seen his King so angry must not appear again in his presence."

Don Alonso Felipe left the room and, without returning to the Cortes, went straight to his lodging, mounted his horse and with only one or two servants rode straight away and that same night reached his town of Grañen, leaving the remainder of his retinue behind at Monzon.

The dramatic effect of this scene would not be lessened by the fact that it must have taken place in the evening, as one of the witnesses who told the story many years later to the Count's descendants was the page who was holding a lighted candle. Don Alonso Felipe left a short account of the affair in his memoirs.

When the members of the Cortes learnt what had happened, they suspended business. It is to be noted that the first to propose this was the Count of Aranda, with whom the Count of Ribagorza had long maintained a feud. The Emperor hearing of this resolution of the Cortes, without displaying any further displeasure, at once sent a message to Grañen ordering the Count to return immediately, and saying that

“no greater service could he do than return to make up everything, as the Cæsar wished all to understand the honour and esteem he bore the Count, and that this was asked in love and as a royal command ; but that if, on the other hand, Don Alonso Felipe refused to come, he was ordered to appear on pain of disloyalty.”

In answer to this message the Count returned to Monzon, and on his arrival the first person to visit him with all his friends and partisans was his former enemy, the Count of Aranda, who said, “Let us act towards you, my Lord Count, as place and circumstances demand.” By which he meant that the private differences of gentlemen should be forgotten in the interests of public welfare. Conduct which was much applauded.

So the Emperor’s plan fell through, and was put off to some more opportune moment.

It is thought that after this episode Don Alonso Felipe deemed it wise to remove his son from the Court, though this is not certain. For some reason, however, Don Martin did leave, which caused Prince Philip to write begging him to come back, showing him much affection and favour.

He was clearly at the Court when the following letter was written. Why he went to Valencia is not known, unless the journey may have had to do with his marriage, which was probably

already being discussed ; Valencia being not far from the home of his future wife.

¹ “ Don Martin of Aragon. I give you leave to visit Valencia for a month and a half, but I command you not to stay longer, because I think they will soon give me pages, and if you come in time I will receive you as one, otherwise who knows but that you may be passed over. Done in Toledo the 28th of October (1537). The Prince.”

Philip was as good as his word, as is shown by a document written by the Emperor, two months after the death of the Empress.

² “ We the Emperor of the Romans, august King of Germany and the Queen my mother and the said King her son inform you the Lord Steward and Keeper of the Privy Purse of the household of the very illustrious Prince, our very dear and much beloved son, that our grace and will is that he takes and receives for his page the eldest son of the Count of Ribagorza, Don Martin of Aragon, who was page to the very Serene Empress, our dear and well beloved daughter and wife (May she rest in peace), also that he should be granted each year for his keep and salary nine thousand and four hundred maravedis. Madrid, July 1, 1538.”

It is difficult to fix the exact date when Don

¹ Library, Royal Academy of History, Madrid.

² *Idem.*

Martin was sent to stay, probably for about two years, with his uncle the Archbishop of Compostella, though he may have returned there for a time later on, between his betrothal and marriage. During this visit he lived in the archbishop's palace and became his pupil, studying French, Italian and Latin, and, it may be supposed, acquiring that love of the classics which clung to him through life.

CHAPTER III

DON MARTIN had now reached the age of nearly fourteen, and his father, having himself married Doña Isabel, sister of the Duke of Cardona, when he was nearly seventeen, considered the time had come to seek a wife for his son. He took counsel, therefore, with Don Ferdinand of Aragon, Archbishop of Saragossa, who was not only a kinsman, but who had been Abbot of Veruela at the time of a feud, and thus was under an obligation to the Count, who had sided with him.

The prelate could suggest no more fitting bride than his own niece, Doña Luisa de Borja y Aragon, the daughter of his dead sister, the Duchess of Gandia, and third cousin to Don Martin himself. It is curious that the alliance should have appeared a suitable one. The prospective bridegroom was, as has been already said, a boy of thirteen, but one who had already seen something of the world, cultivated, with captivating and courtly manners; Doña Luisa, though gentle and virtuous, a woman just double his age, who had led a most secluded life and

whose one wish and ambition was to become a nun ; a wish that was also her father's, according to a clause in his will.¹ The archbishop, however, was able to overrule all objections and, according to Padre Norell, he and Don Alonso Felipe came to the convenient conclusion that this difference in age was a blessing rather than the reverse, considering the great excellence and discretion of Luisa, who was too conscientious to permit herself on this account to be lacking in seemly subjection to her husband, and whose saintly character would so enchant him as to make him follow her in the paths of piety and duty which his exalted station demanded.

There were also other more worldly considerations to attract the Count of Ribagorza, not only the lady's dower but her many quarterings, and the fact that, both through her father and mother, royal blood flowed in her veins.

The house of Borja or Borgia, as it is better known in England, was indeed an ancient and illustrious one. If the deeds of the Italian branch of the family have given rise to the well-known phrase, "the crimes of the Borgias," to express the acme of all iniquity, and if in spite of much that modern writers have said to tone down the lurid colouring of their evil doing, the idea still

¹ Written in the Valencian dialect.

prevails,¹ it must be understood at once that the Spanish Borjas have no need of such white-washing ; but that they were rather patterns to their generation, at any rate those nearly connected with Doña Luisa.

The family had left Aragon and come with King Jaime to Valencia at the end of its conquest, where, to reward their loyalty and valour, they had been granted property.

Doña Luisa's father was the third Duke of Gandia, a grandee of Spain " de la primera clase y antigüedad." In spite of all her humility, probably no one valued her exalted lineage more than did Luisa herself, as in a prayer of thanksgiving written many years later she places the blessings of noble birth before those of husband and children and asks why a " poor little worm," such as she was, should have received them.

¹ Lord Beaconsfield confirms this idea when he writes in June 1838, saying, " We had a very agreeable party at d'Orsays yesterday. Then there was the Duke of Osuna, a young man, but a grandee of the highest grade. He is a great dandy and looks like Philip II, but though the only living descendant of the Borgias, has the reputation of being very amiable. When he was last at Paris he attended a representation of Victor Hugo's ' Lucrezia Borgia ' ! She says in one of the scenes ' Great crimes are in our blood.' All his friends looked at him with an expression of fear. ' But the blood has degenerated,' he said, ' for I have committed only weaknesses.' "—Correspondence with his sister.

[Lord Beaconsfield was wrong in saying that the Duke was the last of the family.—A. M. M.]



DOÑA LUISA DE BORJA DE ARAGÓN, COUNTESS OF RIBAGORZA,
DUCHESS OF VILLAHERMOSA
From her portrait in the Villahermosa Palace, Madrid, by Rolam de Moïs

The Duke and his wife, Doña Juana de Aragon, lived an exemplary life in the Castle of Gandia, surrounded by their numerous children, of whom it is almost certain that she who is known to posterity as the "holy Duchess" and her brother St. Francis de Borja were the eldest. As, during the subsequent troubles, the registers were destroyed it is difficult to fix the exact year of Luisa's birth; but it is known to have been on St. Luis's day, August 19, and Padre Norell seems to have absolutely proved that it could not have taken place later than 1512 or 1513. She was therefore a year or two younger than her celebrated brother, who was born on October 28, 1510.

The children were brought up in habits of piety and charity; one of these being that they drew lots on New Year's day for the name of a saint. When the vigil or feast of this said saint came round, the boys of the family gave a dinner to two poor men and the girls to two poor women. The Duke's benevolence was great; he gave a third part of his fortune in alms, saying that he would sooner that his own household should want rather than Christ's poor. His sister and mother (who had been left with two children, a widow for the second time at eighteen) had withdrawn from the world to the neighbouring convent of St. Clara. These nuns had a great reputation, and

later, when Francis was Viceroy, Charles V used to tell him to consult them and beg for their advice. "Ask your nuns to commend this business for me to God and see if they say anything about it, for I have never met persons more reliable than they are for knowing anything that is of importance to me." When Perpignan was besieged by the Dauphin in 1542 the Emperor again consulted the oracle by the same channel, and was told not to let the Germans enter the town, as if they did he would lose it ; but that, if they did not enter, God would free him from his enemies with little loss. This advice was followed with the happiest results. It was to this convent that Doña Luisa yearned, probably all her life long, to retire.

It is not difficult to understand the fascination of the quiet cloister for the childish mystic ; but it is to be hoped that her first biographer, Padre Muniesa, was drawing on his imagination when he states that this little girl of seven or eight, on returning to her father's house, "was annoyed at the ceremony and courtesies of his palace, grieved to see other people wear gay clothes and fine jewels, saddened by music and festivities, made melancholy by pleasures, embittered by presents, and wearied by the ministrations of servants and the compliments of vassals."

Be this as it may, Luisa was soon to exchange fancied sorrows for real ones. The Duchess, her mother, died in 1520, and next year saw her banished from her beloved convent and home, which most probably she never saw again.

All that sun-bathed shore was liable to attacks from the Moors of Algeria, who swooped down, carrying off not only all property on which they could lay their hands, but worse still, cargoes of white flesh, men, women and children, to take back to Algiers as slaves. It was in 1519 that rumours of such an invasion of all the coasts of Valencia reached Spain. Plague raged in the city of Valencia itself, and had caused all the well-to-do people to leave the town. Ferdinand the Catholic therefore allowed the common folk to have arms that they might defend themselves, should necessity arise. The nobles, knowing themselves to be disliked by the lower orders, went to seek Charles, who was then at Barcelona, to get him to insist on the people being disarmed ; but the League of the Thirteen Artisans, as it was called, also sent representatives and Charles listened to them and confirmed them in their privilege to use arms.

Encouraged by this, the people rose, and in July 1520 were complete masters of the city of Valencia, from whence the insurrection spread into the surrounding country, proclaiming the Germania, or Brotherhood and League of

the people, against the nobles. At the same time, in other parts, the Comuneros rose. In Aragon and Andalusia the tumult was speedily repressed; but not so in Valencia. The party of the Germania grew until nearly the whole kingdom was involved, and most of the noble families withdrew to Aragon or Andalusia. The Duke of Gandia sent his mother and sister and children by sea to Pensacola, a town on a rocky promontory only joined to the shore by a low tongue of land. To its castle the anti-Pope Pedro de Luna had retired and had died there in 1423, and Don Juan de Borja rightly thought that his family would be in safety there. He kept his eldest son, Francis, with him at home; but after the disastrous skirmish of Gandia he was himself forced to seek refuge at Pensacola; Francis only being saved and taken there by a faithful servant, escaping through the orchard when the mob were entering the front of the palace to sack it.

News of these disasters spread through Spain without loss of time, and more fortunate relations hastened to offer asylums to the unlucky family. Old Doña Marie de Luna, the Duke's grandmother, who lived at Baza near Granada, wanted them to go and stay with her, while from Saragossa came an invitation from his mother-in-law, Doña Ana de Gurrea, and her son the Archbishop to take refuge there.

The Duke at once decided not to leave Gandia himself, and to keep the younger children with him. Possibly the country may by this time have quieted down sufficiently, or, as he was a most kind master, his subjects may have come to their senses, and thus made it safe for him to return. In any case it was only for his mother and sister that he accepted the proffered hospitality of Baza, and settled that Francis and Luisa, as being the best able to bear the long, tedious journey, should go to Saragossa. They all had to travel by sea, as the country was still too unsettled for them to do so by land.

All arrived safely at their destinations, and Francis and Luisa were joyfully welcomed by their relations in Saragossa, who took every pains, not only to make their lives happy, but to educate them. Luisa, especially, appealed to her grandmother's love by showing so many of the graces and virtues of Doña Ana's daughter, the dead Duchess. This happy time was not to last for very long, and Doña Ana and her son were both resting in their graves in the cathedral, where their tombs are still to be seen, before Luisa came back to Aragon.

As has been already told, the children's other grandmother had gone to stay with her own mother, who had then reached a great age and who never expected to see her remaining

daughter again. The old lady's joy can be understood; nor is much imagination required to picture the long talks the two would have, joined in by their daughter and granddaughter Sor Francisca.

After the wont of grandmothers in all ages Sor Gabriela loudly sang the praises of her grandchildren Francis and Luisa, until she fired her mother with such a wish to see them before she died, that nothing would satisfy her but to get the Duke's permission for them to undertake the long journey, in spite of the opposition of relations at Saragossa.

It was only intended that the stay should be a short one; but Francis fell ill and continued so for six months. During this time Baza was visited by a terrible earthquake which forced all to leave their houses and take refuge in the fields. Francis was carried on a litter as he was still ill. He remained in the open country for forty days, a tent being placed over him as a shelter, presumably because he was too ill to be carried back, as other people had returned to their homes.

This earthquake seems to have made the two nuns decide to return to their convent. Doña Luisa, no doubt, hoped to have gone home with them; but the Duke had accepted yet another invitation for her to stay with her mother's sister, who had married the head

of the Guzman family, the Duke of Medina Sidonia.¹

Descended from Guzman el Bueno, perhaps the most heroic father in history, there is no reason to imagine that Doña Luisa's uncle was a less important personage than his predecessor, who had refused to listen to the appeal of Christopher Columbus, and of whom Major Hume writes that he "was a great magnate, who was himself almost a sovereign," who controlled the port of Seville and the coasts of the South, and had ships in plenty besides 40,000 armed retainers.

This visit was to take her still farther away from her beloved Gandia, and part her from Francis, who, being by this time thirteen, was, according to the custom of the day, to serve his apprenticeship at the Court, where he was to be page to Doña Catalina, the youngest sister of the Emperor, who lived with her crazy mother in the gloomy castle of Toradillas, away in the north.

As the Duchess of Medina Sidonia lived at San Lucar de Barrameda, a port near Cadiz granted to the Duke's ancestors when captured from the Moors (in the same way that, for a short time, they held Gibraltar), the whole length of Spain separated this brother and

¹ This family were ancestors of Catherine of Braganza, her mother being a daughter of the eighth Duke.

sister, who, it is almost certain, never met again. On Luisa's side, at any rate, the affection she felt never altered. "As your ladyship is earthly sister to Brother Francis so are you even in a greater degree in Spirit and in the wish for divine glory," wrote St. Ignatius Loyola to her many years later from Rome.

Doña Luisa then sadly set out on her journey, at the end of which she was received by her aunt with much kindness. The Duchess seems to have taken the greatest care of her, and gave her as companions two noble ladies, not like the daughters of the Cid "Doña Sol y Doña Elvira," but the sisters Juana and Elvira de Medinilla, who were adepts at all kinds of needle work, and who grew so fond of their pupil that they never left her during the remainder of her life.

Her time, according to her biographer, was spent thus. On rising she retired to her oratory, and there spent a long while in prayer and meditation, afterwards attending Mass. After this "she devoted the indispensable time to her body; but this time was as short as was her breakfast." Then came the master of reading and writing with whom she "conversed of Christian doctrine" and after further devotions, sewed until dinner. The remainder of the day was spent in working and talking with those who helped her, or in reading either books of devotion or romances. Those which contained jokes

or jests or idle news she hated with all her soul as a waste of time. She ended the day by telling her beads.

Luisa's hopes of returning home were finally frustrated by the decision of the family that, as her father had married as a second wife the daughter of the Count of Evol (a lady by whom he subsequently had twenty more children, though several, probably, died young, as the names of only ten have come down to posterity), it was better for her to remain with her uncle and aunt as their adopted child ; indeed it seems that it was her aunt's wish to make her in truth a daughter, by wedding her to their son, the Count of Niebla. The girl's whole mind, however, was bent on returning to the convent at Gandia, and she resolved to live in her relation's palace as if she had already taken the veil. This drew the following very human document from her aunt at San Lucar to the Duke of Gandia. "Of Luisica I do not know what more to say to your lordship, than that she leaves nothing to be desired, she is no child in mind. The only consolation I have for my very good sister's death (May she rest in peace) is having Luisa here. She annoys me over one thing which I scold her for, and I wish that your lordship would scold her too with your authority as a father and help me a little, for here we cannot keep her within bounds. As she well knows, she

is ruining her health with too much austerity and mortifications which are greater than are necessary or than she can bear. I have told her that I am responsible for her as she is placed in my charge and that I cannot allow it. For this and other reasons I am certain that she still thinks of becoming a nun at Gandia ; but I tell her that for the present your lordship and my brother, the Archbishop, are not of this mind, nor am I, so that she must not yet think of leading a nun's life, or weaken her health, with other things that occur to me, placing scruples before her. As she is timid and gentle she improves ; but then falls back to follow her inclination and we continue to importune her. God's will be done. We all love her dearly because she deserves it. Your lordship need not feel any anxiety about the child, as you have other cares, and this one is to me as my own daughter."

After Luisa's death many prayers were found in her own writing, prayers which might well, from their deep devotion and penitence, have been written by a St. Theresa, prayers in which this saintly girl in the ecstasy of her worship compares herself to Mary Magdalen or the woman of Canaan, her favourite maxim being "*a quien nada se le debe, honra se le hace.*" (Everything is an honour to him who deserves nothing.)¹

¹ Thus Padre Norell explains this sentence.

But if her religion may appear somewhat hysterical, it was also very real and true, and enabled her cheerfully to give up the desire of her life, at the bidding of what she conceived to be her duty, and accept the youthful bridegroom chosen for her by her relations, in place of the Heavenly One on whom her whole heart was set.

CHAPTER IV

MEANWHILE Don Francis had been leading a far more eventful life.

His career as a page ended with the marriage of Doña Catalina to King John III of Portugal, as, although she was anxious to take him in her train, the Duke of Gandia absolutely forbade this, not wishing Francis to leave Spain. So he returned for about two years to Saragossa to study with his uncle the Archbishop, who died shortly afterwards in 1530 and was succeeded as archbishop by his brother Don Ferdinand, Doña Luisa's match-making uncle.

Don John of Aragon, Archbishop of Saragossa, died in Madrid ; he may have gone there on a visit to his nephew, as prior to this date Francis had been ordered by his father to return to the Court, which was at that time unusually brilliant owing to the fact that Charles was not away on any campaign, and also to the festivities due to the welcome arrival of Prince Philip.

The Emperor and Empress made much of this youth of seventeen, who had no friends but those of good report, and who was so wonderful

a horseman that of the two modes of riding in vogue in Spain at that time, if the palm of the "brida" was given to Charles himself, the "jinete" was adjudged to Francis, who frequently won the prizes at the various games on horseback which were then so much in fashion, and which were played to amuse the Emperor.

No doubt Francis was at Valladolid on the summer's day when the Count of Ribagorza rode in to attend the royal christening, and it is almost certain that he would have seen and talked to his relative; but there is no reason to think that there was any idea of the marriage of the year-old Don Martin to Doña Luisa, who then must have been a girl in her teens; indeed it is more natural to imagine that Francis was taken up with his own matrimonial arrangements, particularly as these did not at first meet with his father's approval.

His bride, Doña Leonor de Castro, was chosen for him by Empress Isabel herself, who thought she could do her favourite lady no greater kindness than wed her to the gifted, steady and virtuous young man. Apparently Doña Leonor was of the same mind, as it is recorded of her that she was "humble, discreet, and devout and a great admirer of her husband whom she tried to imitate in everything."

Perhaps as a wedding present the Emperor

created Francis Marquis of Lombay ; by which name it will be recalled he is mentioned as having attended Prince Philip during the child's first ride.

When Empress Isabel died at Toledo on May 1, 1539, her end was, as her husband wrote some months later, "so sudden and precipitate that it gave her no opportunity of being able to satisfy individual claims." She did, however, it appears, find time to express a wish that Don Francis and his wife should accompany her coffin on the last journey to Granada, there to be buried in the Chapel of "los Reyes Catolicos" ; a wish which the bereaved Emperor also shared.

The cortège arrived at its destination on May 7 ; but on the 6th at noon Francis, it is told, had a strange experience.

He thought that his grandmother Sor Gabriela appeared to him robed in glory, and that coming near to him she said lovingly, "It is time, my son, to begin to climb the road God has prepared in which you may serve Him," and then ascended into space.

Probably it was not until after he had been some days at Granada that he would have heard from his aunt Sor Francisca, now Abbess of the convent at Gandia, that his grandmother had died at the very hour he had seen the vision.

The story is given without comment as it is written in the life of the "Santa Duquesa" ;

but, if there is any foundation for it, it would make what passed the next day at Granada the more easy to understand.

It was late in the afternoon when the end of the journey was reached, and the Marquis of Lombay had to fulfil the last duty of giving over the royal corpse. To do this he had to unlock and open the coffin. What wonder is it that to this high-strung man, his nerves unhinged by the long, sad pilgrimage, and possibly by the experience of the previous day, the contrast of the intense vitality of a southern spring with the havoc death had wrought, should have made him fix his eyes on those of the dead Empress, which had "but lately been so bright" as if he could not remove his gaze, and then exclaim in the well-known words, "Never more, never more will I serve a lord who can die." An oft told tale, still always a dramatic one.

There is no need to give the least credence to the legend, which Isabel's latest Portuguese biographer¹ says will always hang like golden dust round her memory, that a romantic attachment had existed between her and Francis.

Isabel is often spoken of as if she had been beautiful; but, judging from her pictures, this does not appear to have been the case. There are several portraits of her in existence. Many will remember the one of her in the Prado

¹ Count de Sabugosa.

Gallery, painted by Titian after her death from descriptions and sketches. It shows a fair, fragile looking woman, whose "sad, sweet smile, vague, lymphatic eyes and high forehead give to the face a character of far-away ideality, such as marked so many members of her race."¹

Just two months after her death the Emperor wrote the already quoted letter, confirming Don Martin's appointment as page to Prince Philip, and it was in the autumn of the same year that the former set out with his father for San Lucar to meet his appointed bride and to sign the articles of the alliance which was to unite the scions of the Royal House of Aragon. This fact was, possibly, the reason why the strange marriage met with so much approval, even from saintly persons like Sor Francisca and the Marquis of Lombay; only of poor Luisa it is told that she was "somewhat perturbed"; but that she kept her feelings to herself, not to distress her uncle and aunt.

With all possible courtesy the Duke and Duchess of Medina Sidonia welcomed the travellers when they arrived in the last days of 1539 or early in the New Year. Don Alonso Felipe, it is related, was simply enchanted with his prospective daughter-in-law for her "majesty and modesty, dignified simplicity and honourable reserve," which made her appear rather "a

¹ Major Martin Hume.

dignified matron and mother of a family than a spinster" who was about to give her hand to so young a boy.

Under the circumstances these appear strange reasons for congratulation.

The marriage articles were signed on January 12, 1540, at four o'clock in the afternoon in the presence of the Duke and Duchess of Medina Sidonia, their son the Conde of Niebla, the Count of Ribagorza and the two most interested parties, Don Martin and Doña Luisa.

In quaint old Spanish the Duke tells Don Martin that because "the Duchess my wife and I have brought her up and because we love her as much as a real daughter, I have stipulated with the Lord Count your father to give you with her as dower and marriage portion twelve cuentos of maravedis, to be paid in instalments under the usual conditions, as shall be declared, and, as you desire that this said marriage shall take place, I promise to give you as dower and marriage portion with the said lady Doña Luisa de Aragon and as her dower, twelve cuentos of maravedis paid in the following manner ; four cuentos to be in jewels of gold, precious stones, pearls and silver and in clothes, brocades and silk, valued as in the form that is agreed on and stipulated for between the said Lord Count your father and me, all of which I will give and make over to the said lady Doña

Luisa de Aragon as her property, as soon as you are pledged to her by word, and two other cuentos I will give at the end of three months from the day you are wedded and receive the blessing of the Church and take the said lady Doña Luisa to your house ; and in regard to your marriage to the said lady Doña Luisa de Aragon it is to take place two years hence from this day and not before. The other six cuentos I will pay in four years counting from the date of the payment of the two cuentos."

There are various papers existing in the family archives to prove that this dower was not finally obtained without difficulty.

Don Alonso Felipe, on his part, promised the Barony of Torrellas which brought in about 1000 " Castilian gold pieces " a year, which was to be Don Martin's when he reached the age of 22. He also promised his son, after his own death, the County of Ribagorza with all its appurtenances, and the inheritance of the Countess his mother which had comprised Luna, Erla and Sora, with their seven villages including Pedrola and, after the death of Don Martin's own mother, two more places, Alcalâ and Granent at that time forming part of her jointure. To all this was to be added after Don Alonso Felipe's demise " and not before " the new house in Saragossa and all the fortresses and castles in the County of Ribagorza, its

vassals, men and women, its civil and criminal jurisdiction and all woods, pastures, granges, crops, rents and emoluments.

Don Martin was to settle 6000 golden ducats on his wife.

The list of Doña Luisa's jewels is given with great minuteness ; each item being appraised at its value, which is given in ducats and maravedis, and the number of gems in each article exactly stated. The most precious of these was a large emerald set in a golden rose enamelled white, valued at 3000 ducats or 1,125,000 maravedis ; a gold cross set with emeralds and pearls following at 1500 ducats ; besides these there was another cross set with diamonds, two bracelets with rubies, diamonds and pearls ; a gold necklace and a collar with rubies, diamonds and pearls. Two " cintas " (head dresses), one with pearls and diamonds, the other of gold " without strings." A golden book cover enamelled outside with deeds of St. John the Baptist and St. James, inside with the Descent from the Cross and the Entombment of Christ. A silver and black velvet saddle and mule trappings to match, and a grey mule. Her wardrobe comprised $148\frac{1}{2}$ yards of yellow cloth of gold in four pieces at ten ducats the yard, $105\frac{3}{4}$ of crimson satin at three and a half ducats, twenty-five yards of crimson at six ducats, twenty-three yards of grey velvet, and nine and a half yards of

grey satin ; a gown of white brocade which was valued at 300 ducats. Four bodices, one cut low of crimson velvet, and two more of crimson, and one of striped tawny satin, a front of brocaded velvet and two black velvet gowns. A pale pink gown of silk or cloth, trimmed with pink velvet and cloth of silver. (Could this be the pink underdress trimmed with silver in which she was painted by Rolam de Mois some twenty years later ?) A dress of black damask and a "saboyana," or full dress, of black satin which only cost 30 ducats, so the white brocade must have been very gorgeous to be worth ten times as much. On Doña Luisa was also bestowed a black embroidered garment with the baffling name of "slaura," which cost the same price as two black velvet gowns, namely eighty ducats, and a black velvet "mongil," probably a loose robe with open sleeves.

Besides all these stipulated goods with which it is said that "don martin y doña luisa de aragon" declared themselves satisfied, the bride was further given by her munificent uncle and aunt, a rosary of jet set in gold, a gold pomander, two and a half dozen of gold hair pins and more gowns of damask and cloth, a "marlota," probably a sort of dressing-gown of black velvet ; a hoop of tawny velvet, and a half hoop of black velvet. The long list ends with two "martas"

—no doubt the highly ornamented skins which ladies then used to take with them to Church and elsewhere, in the hopes that vermin would be enticed away from attacking them. Mary Queen of Scots possessed no less than five of these skins. In the recently exhibited picture of Queen Isabel de la Paz she is holding one of these “martas,” which were called in German “Flohwedel” and in Italian “Pellecini.”¹

To avoid future lawsuits and difficulties it was agreed as both Don Martin and Doña Luisa were Aragonese and were to live in Aragon, that two lawyers should see the articles to make certain they were in conformity with the “fueros” of that kingdom. This plan was carried out during the following autumn, one “micer” being chosen by the Archbishop of Saragossa to represent Doña Luisa and one for Don Martin, appointed by his father.

All these important matters being settled, the two guests left San Lucar; Don Martin, it is thought, returning to complete his studies at Compostella, leaving Doña Luisa to enjoy what she, no doubt, considered her respite of two years before the final sacrifice of all her hopes was to be accomplished.

¹ I am indebted to Mrs. Nuttall for this information.—
A. M. M.

CHAPTER V

IT has already been stated more than once that Don Martin and Doña Luisa were cousins in the third degree. A dispensation for their marriage was therefore necessary ; this was conceded by Paul III from Rome in 1541, and the bull still exists in the family archives.

The exact date of the wedding is not known, though it must have taken place in 1542. Authorities differ even as to where it was celebrated, Señor Melida saying that two writers affirm that it was in San Lucar, while, to quote Padre Norell, "for greater solemnity Luisa's uncle and aunt settled that such a notable event should take place in their palace at Medina Sidonia."

One fact, however, is certain, which is that the wedding was made the opportunity for much pomp and ceremony. "Let the liveries be rich, costly and magnificent," Don Alonso Felipe instructs his steward, "as there are occasions on which a gentleman should make a display."

It may be taken for granted that the dresses

of the bridal pair were no less gorgeous, but no account of them is preserved, though the following word pictures of their persons and appearance are given; "Don Martin at the time of his marriage, although too young, was of a charming disposition, plucky, intelligent, brave and clever in all the exercises suited to a great gentleman, enjoying robust health; he had black hair, a long white face and somewhat weak eyesight."

"Naturally strong though somewhat worn by her austerities; of heavy build, though not out of proportion and above the ordinary height, elegant without offence to modesty, with long hands, pale complexion and dull fair hair, a quiet dignified face, commanding bright blue eyes, arched eyebrows, a rather aquiline nose and a well-shaped mouth. Such is the picture," concludes Luisa's biographer, "which is preserved in her portraits, and which can be almost recognized in her uncorrupted corpse."

The wedding festivities over, the time came for this ill-assorted couple to begin their homeward journey. Was this the first journey Doña Luisa had taken since she came from Baza, nearly twenty years earlier, or had she returned meanwhile to Gandia on a short visit? Padre Muniesa, her first biographer, says not, but at the same time gives a story which could only

apply to her step-mother's children and which is too characteristic of the period not to be told here. One of the youngest girls, quarrelling over a toy, slapped her little brother Thomas, who already wore an ecclesiastical habit. Doña Luisa reproved the child with such grave words, that for life, as she afterwards averred, she was imbued with the veneration and respect due to priests. Two of these brothers received cardinal's hats successively, at the ages of eighteen and nineteen ; but neither survived the honour many months. These dignities were conferred by the Pope Paul III, who wished thereby to show his gratitude to the family of his benefactor Alexander VI, who was a Borgias.

In his "Discourses" Don Martin treats very learnedly of cardinal's hats, which he considered the lineal descendants of those the pontiffs of old Rome wore as a mark of their high office.

All this has little to do with the farewells which had to be said to the uncle and aunt who had so well replaced her parents for Luisa. One last favour she begged, which was that the Medinillas might accompany her. To this wish her aunt acceded, and the two sisters not only went with her, but never again left their former pupil, and it was to one of them that Doña Luisa confided her children when she died.

This arranged, the brave company set out. History does not relate whether Doña Luisa



DON MARTIN DE GURREA Y ARAGÓN, COUNT OF RIBAGORZA,
DUKE OF VILLAHERMOSA
From his portrait by Rolam de Moïs in the Villahermosa Palace, Madrid

rode the grey mule on the silver and black velvet saddle or went in a litter ; but it was most likely that she chose the latter mode of conveyance, for it is related that the “ expedition was made with great splendour and magnificence,” as was decorous for such exalted personages.

Saragossa was reached at the end of the long journey, and here not only Don Martin’s father and mother but also the Archbishop extended a warm welcome to the newly married couple, who lodged in the palace of the Count of Ribagorza—it may be presumed “ the new house ” which was to be theirs one day.

Doña Luisa must have missed the kind grandmother and uncle who had made her former visit to Saragossa so pleasant, and the place must have evoked thoughts of the brother from whom fate had parted her for so many years ; but she had not much time for such natural reflections, as they only stayed in the city long enough for the necessary visits of ceremony, and then retired with the Count and Countess to Pedrola, which was a day’s journey from Saragossa, about twenty miles.

It was between Saragossa and Pedrola that the remainder of Luisa’s life was passed, the young people always living with Don Martin’s family, so, as the marriage articles provided that they should live in the Barony of Torellas, it

would seem that the Count and Countess really loved their daughter-in-law.

Very few of the Count of Ribagorza's numerous family remained at home at the time of Doña Luisa's marriage. Two or three daughters had died young, one was already a nun, and the others had married. The eldest, Doña Aldonza, must have been at the Court at the same time as Don Martin, as she was lady-in-waiting to the Empress at the time of her death; and her father made a claim that more than the five hundred ducats given to the other ladies had been promised to her. She was allowed fifteen hundred ducats. It is curious that the claim should have been made by her father Don Alonso Felipe, as Doña Aldonza had been married since 1533 to the Viscount of Evol.

The Count's second wife, Doña Isabel de Espes, had died soon after marriage in giving birth to a son who did not survive.

Of the present Countess's daughters two only were living at Pedrola, Doña Francisca, who did not marry till much later, and Doña Marina, whose beauty caused poets to write sonnets in her honour, and who had been lady to the Empress; but owing to illness had had to return home; she was betrothed to the Duke of Alcalá, but died young, not, however, for some years after this date or until she had been god-mother to Doña Luisa's first daughter. The

remaining two daughters, Doña Catalina and Doña Angela, were at school at Bonavia, a place adjoining Pedrola where Don Martin's grandfather spent the last days of his life. To-day an olive grove, Bonavia was then a pleasant country house with great gardens and avenues, woods for hunting, olive yards, and very fine pine trees.

At the old Duke of Luna's death the Count of Ribagorza gave this country house for a convent and school for noble maidens, placing it under the rule of St. Bernard ; and there Don Martin's two sisters were being educated ; the youngest Doña Angela dying there later. Doña Catalina, like her sister Marina, was famed for her good looks, and later was lady-in-waiting to Doña Juana, sister to Philip II, in Valladolid ; she too appears to have died young.

Doña Luisa was very kind to her sisters-in-law and used to visit them at their school and see that they were provided with all they wanted. In fact the family life at this time seems to have been very happy ; Doña Luisa leading much the same existence that she did at San Lucar.

As was only natural, considering his age, Don Martin sometimes caused the exercise of tact to be necessary. For instance, when, as frequently was the case, neighbouring worthies came to Pedrola to call, instead of remaining politely to

entertain them as their importance demanded, he went to amuse himself with other boys of his own age. This caused vexation to poor Luisa, who was really mortified, although she tried to make all possible excuses to the guests. It is also more than hinted at that she had besides a real cause for jealousy, and that for this she took him to task, praying over what she was to say, so as not to let natural feelings run away with her tongue.

The birth of a little son on January 26, 1543, made the "flames of his love and respect" burn cheerfully again on the domestic hearth. This the Count de Gimerá declares to be the meaning of the motto and device he assumed at his marriage: "Lucemque metumque" and the "lightning of Jupiter"; probably evolved during his period of study at Compostela.

Devices were apt to be oracular; that of his grandfather, the Duke of Luna, was not less so. It was assumed at the time of his unmerited disgrace, and was supposed to put all gossiping tongues to silence. It consisted of a gimlet (taladro) and the words "que no mordió" which made the rebus "Tal ladro que no mordió," "Thus he bored as he did not bite." It will be remembered that the Duke of Buckingham's motto "Doresnavant" was supposed to have caused Henry VIII to think that he aspired to

to the throne of England and to have hastened his downfall.

Don Alonso Felipe was overjoyed at the arrival of this heir, who was called John Alonso, after his two grandfathers, and who was succeeded by another boy named Ferdinand, and in 1547 by a sister called Ana.

It was in this latter year that Don Martin went to the Cortes which were held in Saragossa by Prince Philip, representing his father. This was the first time the two had met since childhood.

These Cortes were the occasion of much public rejoicing. The Prince entered the city on June 15, and on the 19th the Archbishop, after a solemn mass in the Cathedral, gave a great banquet in his palace to Philip and other great personages ; according to the etiquette of the time, he first waited on the Prince, saying grace at the end of the repast ; then, descending to another chamber, he himself dined with the Admiral of Castille and other magnates, including Don Martin, while the rest of the company, to the number of nine hundred, were regaled meanwhile in other rooms. The day ended with a bull fight and a review and illuminations in the grounds where the festival was held, round which Prince Philip rode twice "saluting the ladies."

Don Alonso Felipe spent much of his time

now at the Monastery of Veruela, and in 1549 he made a pilgrimage to Rome to "gain the Jubilee." Clement VII received him with much honour, making him lodge in his palace and granting him many indulgences for his family to the fourth generation, as well as to those who accompanied him. The Pope also presented him with a thorn from the Crown of Thorns, which was preserved with great reverence at Pedrola until the place was sacked during the Peninsular war. The next year (1550) the Count died at Saragossa on November 13, in his house in the Street of the Preachers. His wife and Don Martin and also Doña Luisa were present when he passed peacefully away, his last moments soothed by the devotion and piety of his daughter-in-law.

In his will he left very precise instructions for his funeral, which was to be conducted with the greatest simplicity, and to take place on the day after his demise. Thirteen poor persons in white were to accompany the cortège and only three candles, more he did not wish for, and these only as a token "of respect to the Cross." He desired to be buried in the ground, without pomp or coffin, near the High Altar of the Church at Bonavia, so that as quickly as possible he should become dust.

These wishes, however, were not carried out, and his obsequies "were the most solemn and

sumptuous that were seen up till then for a private lord in Saragossa," the Chapter of the Cathedral accompanying the coffin to the "Portillo" gate of the city, and his son and a crowd of gentlemen, monks, and clergy following it to Pedrola, where the funeral took place ; the Church at Bonavia not being built ; in fact it was destined never to be.

There is a quaint little story told about Don Alonso Felipe, which shows that if, at times, he could be violent, he could also control himself under great provocation. Walking one day through the streets of Benabarre, the capital of his county, a man appeared at the window of one of the houses and carelessly threw sweepings down over the Count. Those walking with him wanted to go and punish the man, but Don Alonso Felipe, quite unperturbed, checked them, saying " Let him alone, he will be very repentant before you can reach him."

This side of his character is shown in his will, where he directs, " Item, if I have, through anger and annoyance, exiled persons from my lands, or made prisoners and done other things without reason which I do not remember, and about which my conscience has some scruples, I beg all that have blamed me for this to forgive me to please God. This may be said from the pulpits."

Among its more mundane items he leaves as a

“ special favour ” to his wife “ all his furniture, jewels, gold and silver, tapestry, artillery, animals, horses, mules, bulls, mares, foals and beasts of burden,” and all salary and debts due to him from the Emperor. In the same way he left a silver gilt dish to Don Martin, and ordered that a special canopy should be given to one of his daughters, as a pledge until Don Martin should pay her a certain sum.

To the son of his eldest daughter he left a dagger with a gold and ivory handle which had been given him by his first wife, and to other grand-daughters medals, one of which it is noted was among those pledged to Pedro Moreo, but if it was not redeemed she was to be given some other one to the value of ten or fifteen ducats. He left Bonavia to his wife, asking her to finish the Convent School and to build the Church of St. Ana there, and he also wished two daughters to be sisters of this community ; to these he left a gold watch which had belonged to the Archbishop John, a prayer book with silver clasps which had been his father's, a psalter with gold, which at Doña Francisca's death was to be used for saying the Offices in the said school ; which appears to have been given up at his death.

After making provision for his daughters he left everything to his son Don Martin Gurrea y de Aragon, who was to put the arms of

Gurrea¹ on the right and the name before that of Aragon, and who therefore became Count of Ribagorza, lord of nearly a dozen more baronies and a grandee of Spain of the highest rank and representative for the Kingdom of Aragon.

Even before his father's death he had at times acted as his deputy, and there are orders of his of that date still existing among the family papers; the oldest commands some of the townfolk to finish some houses that had been begun in the "Campo de Toro" and which besides being disagreeable to their neighbours, made the street ugly.

Here is another, "The very illustrious Don Martin of Aragon, as governor for the very illustrious lord Count of Ribagorza, orders that no one of whatever condition in this town of Pedrola or its confines shall dare to play cards or with dice, on pain of five 'sueldos' to be taken, without mercy, from each of the players and from the master of the house where they played, from both of these as they must have given cards or dice to play with, and for this there should be a search in such a wise that even should they not be playing, if they have information on the oath of at least one person, even a woman, that they have played, the same penalty shall take effect, which shall be divided into three parts,

¹ On this name he had written a poem much too long to quote.

the first for the said lord Martin, the second for the official who executes the order and the third for the informer and he who points out the games or players, and he who has not five sueldos to pay with, being found guilty, shall suffer two days' imprisonment in the dungeon ; but, if anyone asks leave to play of the Mayor, his lordship can give it if he chooses, if the game is in public, where the said Mayor directs ; and so that no one should feign ignorance it is ordered to be cried at the usual places in this town. I, Don Martin."

It may be that there was good cause for such severity ; but Don Martin had a great dislike to gaming, and severely censured and even dismissed servants who were addicted to it. He was not tempted to err in this way himself, as cards bored him so much that if he were forced to play, he fell asleep with the cards in his hands.

It would appear that Doña Luisa also helped with his business, as in one of her letters, written to her brother-in-law, the Viscount of Evol, asking for a post for one Alvarez, she concludes by saying, " Don Martin, my lord, kisses your honour's hand and begs that this arrangement may be made, as I do. Your Grace's servant, Doña Luisa."

CHAPTER VI

RIBAGORZA was a thorny inheritance. When during the summer that his father was in Rome Don Martin made "an universal visitation" of its chief places, accompanied by a lawyer, one Micer Bernardino de Bordalva, an account of which still exists, the object of the journey being to collect bad debts and also do justice to "many poor persons who had long demanded it," he found much to redress and many abuses to suppress.

Possibly Don Alonso Felipe had allowed matters to go on with too much laxity during his long retreats in the Monastery of Veruela ; anyhow, the visitation had given much offence to the vassals of the county, which contained about four thousand inhabitants, and they began to agitate that it might revert to the Crown ; from which they said King John had only separated it as a gift to his son, to the fourth generation ; adding also that when this took place the charter conferred on them the right of choosing their overlord. Old historians, however, deny that it contained this clause.

All this exactly suited the centralizing policy

then being pursued, and the Crown ordered that lawyers should examine the title by which the Counts of Ribagorza held the estate.

Since his father's death the Emperor had appointed Don Martin Alcalde of the town of Daroca, on January 25, 1552, and two months later the new Count writes to the "Sacred Cæsarian Majesty" from Saragossa, giving an account of his stewardship as a loyal vassal, and of a fortress in Val de Aran, which apparently he had maintained with his own money, and now found that his means would not allow him to continue to do so.

When the news of the investigation into his title to Ribagorza reached Don Martin, he naturally wished to make the most he could, not only of his rights, but also of his interest and power at Court. So he not only sent Gaspar de Bardaji as his attorney but also wrote to Antonio Perez, secretary to Prince Philip, at this time acting as Regent of Spain for the Emperor, absent in Flanders.

Antonio Perez was himself an Aragonese. The legitimatized son of a former royal secretary, he was, at this time, high in the Prince's favour. Clever and unscrupulous, he no doubt possessed great fascination, and for many years was one of the most important personages at the Court of Philip II, where he exercised a lavish hospitality. Although married to a devoted wife he,

for years, carried on an intrigue with the widow of Ruy Gomez, the Princess of Evoli ; to whose charms it was whispered Philip himself was not indifferent. It is probably this fact which sealed the fate of the luckless Escovedo, who had discovered the liaison, and who, as a retainer of Ruy Gomez, was furious at the insult to his master's memory. Perez was especially false to his former friend Don John of Austria, and as there is a great similarity between the letters he wrote to beguile the unfortunate Prince, and those he addressed to the family at Pedrola, probably he was not more sincere in his friendly wishes to them than he was to the hero of Lepanto.

From his answer it would appear that Don Martin's letter had been accompanied by a present, a gift which the crafty secretary evidently thought it more prudent to refuse, although, if scandal speaks truly, this was not his wont.

However, he declares that if he had been offered all Don Martin's property he could not feel more obliged, and as a true servant he begs Don Martin to have a little more patience ; that he received the letters and talked over the matter with Don Sancho de Castilla, to whom also it had been commended ; that no one could have better shown the excess committed by the inhabitants of Ribagorza than Gaspar de Bardaji, when he talked to Prince Philip, who had

forbidden them to have meetings; that the Prince wished Don Martin to do the same and desire Gaspar Bardaji to act with the prudence and moderation the occasion demanded, so that nothing untoward or scandalous should happen, which would be against Don Martin's own interests and that the Prince would be pleased if he would do this; that as regarded a certain Don Guillen and others who had taken shelter in Benabarre and in the country, Bardaji would say what happened with the Prince, through Antonio Perez, and what he replied and how delighted Antonio Perez was about this. He then continues, "As regards the other business of the water of Saragossa, his Highness gave me the letter and memorial you had written, and ordered me to let the Council see it, being the correct course: up to now they have come to no decision. I will try to hasten the matter, although in affairs of this kind how can it be done? If what is asked is right (although perhaps not so much the right thing as that I wished to serve your lordship) when something is resolved Don Sancho will take care to let you know." As he has talked at length to Don Sancho, who would see Don Martin shortly, he would write no more. This long letter was written from Valladolid on November 26, 1553.¹

While the Council are deliberating it will

¹ National Library, Madrid.

be well to turn back two years and tell of an event which to Doña Luisa must have seemed of almost more importance than the destinies of Ribagorza. On January 15, 1551, her brother Don Francis, now Duke of Gandia through the death of their father eight years previously, wrote from Rome to ask the Emperor's leave to resign his estates in favour of his eldest son Charles, in order that he might enter the Company of Jesus ; and then went to Oñate and Loyola to await the permission, which arrived in less than a month.

From the moment when, standing by the bier of the dead Empress, her altered features had so startled him, Francis had had but one wish or thought—to enter religion. In fact his aunt writes of this time as “ the period of his conversion.”

One insuperable objection, however, stood in the way, namely that he was married ; so he outwardly went on with the old life, first as Viceroy of Catalonia, then as lord of Gandia after his father's death ; but to quote the naïve statement in the life of Doña Luisa, “ Heaven freed him from his wife by calling her to Itself ” on March 27, 1546.

It is to be hoped that the poor woman never knew that in an ecstasy of self abnegation the Duke had prayed that she might die, if it were for the good of his own soul.

A history of the Jesuits is far beyond the scope of this book ; but at the same time it may not be amiss to recall that the Society was then quite in its infancy. It was only a few years earlier that the young soldier, tossing about on his sick bed, had been driven to read the "Lives of the Saints" for want of other literature, and who, once more restored to health, found himself a cripple for life. After a period of contemplation at Montserrat he had gone to Paris, where he had gathered a little band around him, a few young men who wished to lead the higher life, and who had chosen Ignatius de Loyola as their Captain.

It was exactly the brotherhood to appeal most strongly to a nature like that of the Duke of Gandia : the more the contrast to his present life, the greater would be the attraction, and he gladly welcomed first one member and then another of the Company at Gandia, and made his profession on February 1, 1548, and three years later gave up his estates.

Not content with this he used his influence to persuade his relations to establish houses for the Order, or Colleges as they were called, on their properties, writing to the Duke and Duchess of Medina Sidonia and to Doña Luisa, and giving a house that he owned in Saragossa for the purpose.

Doña Luisa, it need hardly be said, joyfully

welcomed the idea. That it was her brother's wish was enough for her, and she did her utmost to establish the Society in the Kingdom of Aragon, especially in Pedrola, which was largely inhabited by Moors, "new Christians" as they were called, who were so in little but the name. To instruct these she hoped to induce two "persons of this Company" (so its founder names them at this time) to come. The paucity of numbers of the new Society did not, however, admit of this plan being carried out; though two members, at least, visited the Countess. The founding of a college at Saragossa seems to have met with opposition from the Archbishop and his Vicar General; but Luisa secured them a home at last in the Convent of St. Agnes, and adorned the Chapel for them, having the furniture made in the house of Pedrola.

It was not merely the spiritual welfare of her lord's vassals that Doña Luisa cared for, and memories of her charity still linger in the country-side.

There is a pretty legend told about her; that during a year of scarcity she did all she could to relieve the suffering of the people in Pedrola first, and, as the news of her almsgiving spread, also of those attracted from the neighbourhood, until her house would no longer afford room for them all. Helped by her servants and others she not only gave the hungry folks dinner and

money to buy supper, with her own hands, at times kissing their feet as a sign of devotion and humility, but she accompanied the gifts with kind words, and began by praying with them and giving them religious instruction. Prudent busy-bodies were not lacking who warned Don Martin that if this lavish charity continued his garners would become empty. On this Doña Luisa invited him to come with her and visit the barns, and all saw with amazement that these contained more grain than they did before.

The Duke of Gandia had gone to Rome about six months earlier in order to confer with Ignatius Loyola, who had wished to call together the new Society in order to inform the members of its laws. This journey appears to have been a source of much vexation to Doña Luisa; in the first place she seems to have thought that he would never return to Spain, and moreover she fancied that she had been purposely left ignorant that it was to take place.

The affection of the Borja family for each other is really remarkable when it is remembered that the brother and sister had not met for thirty years, nor had the aunt Sor Francisca, now Lady Abbess of St. Clare's Convent, probably seen Doña Luisa more recently. Their bond of union was letters, and these seem always to have been sent by a faithful old retainer called Rolando Monzon, who was nicknamed Samson.

“I did not know of Samson’s departure,” writes the Lady Abbess to her niece in September 1549, “until I read it in your letter ; I neither heard of his coming or going, because your brother the Duke is so taken up with his good works that I seldom see him.”

She now writes to scold and cheer poor Luisa. “There seem many reasons, my child,” she says, “not to take this so much to heart ; you do not lose his presence, as you did not enjoy it ; you can converse with him in Rome by letter ; there is no peril of the sea as he goes by land. He has not deprived us of the hope of his return to Spain, please God. Therefore, if your affection murmurs about not being informed, do not give way to it, because he did think of you and his children, and sent good Father John Tejade to tell you and reassure you about his departure, knowing him to be the person who would do so best.” She then goes on to explain that the messenger had, while on his way to Pedrola and Gandia, fainted while saying mass, and had been taken so ill that two days later, without any pain, saying his prayers as quietly as if in his own cell, he had “expired like a little chick.”

Doña Luisa’s fears had been groundless ; the Duke was now back in Spain, having left Rome secretly, as he feared that the Pope would make him a cardinal ; so, like Don John of Austria,

but for very different reasons, to avoid the honour, he ran away, and at the College of Oñate, after reading the Emperor's letter, he publicly, by writing, resigned his estates, titles, revenues, and vassals in favour of his eldest son, keeping nothing for himself. This done, he cut off his beard, donned the cassock of the Society, and took Orders. He did not, however, officiate until the following August, and Doña Luisa meantime had leisure to embroider, with the help of the Medinilla sisters, a chasuble in which he might say his first mass. Many loving thoughts must have been sewed into the flowers and arabesques as they grew under her long fingers. When finished it was dispatched by a servant, and duly arrived at its destination, as a letter from Padre Araoz, written on June 25, 1551, informed the donor "The Count's servant has just arrived : I was reading your ladyship's letter, when Father Don Francis, who wishes only to be called Francis, without even Don, came in and he read it before me" ; it goes on to say that since Francis had been a priest "and since he renounced his position, he is so happy and contented that it makes one praise the Lord to see him," and further on "The vestment well represents the sender. Oh if your ladyship could have heard the father and son (Don Juan de Borja) when they saw it, and all the father said about its being too grand for a poor man !"



CHASUBLE EMBROIDERED FOR ST. FRANCIS DE BORJA
BY HIS SISTER DOÑA LUISA
Now in the Jesuit College at Loyola, Spain

He did, however, use it when he celebrated his first mass the following August 1 at Loyola, and as happily silks were then made to last and stitches firmly set, the vestment still exists and is preserved in the Jesuits' College there.

Later on his aunt, the Lady Abbess, sent Father Francis a present through Luisa, a little broom for him to use daily for sweeping his cell.

The good aunt seems to have been very certain of her nephew's affection for her, as she writes later to Doña Luisa, "I am an enemy of ceremony especially with my child. Be certain that I am the more pleased, as I take it for a greater sign of love when he does not write to me than when he does; I know he is busy, and that he does not the less cease to be my child than I his mother. I have seen a very good likeness of your brother; but it does not console me, rather the opposite, to see this figure without his soul, which is what I most love and which is of the greatest value."

As was only natural the conversion of a great personage like the Duke of Gandia into humble Father Francis produced no small sensation, and so many people crowded to see him, that his wish for retirement was frustrated. Among others who came was Don Martin.

Brother Francis was to have gone to Saragossa;

but the heat of the weather, and the fever from which he suffered seems to have prevented this, and he wrote to say that the doctor had ordered him to the seaside, only a very short journey from Oñate.

It is time to tell of the far longer journey his brother-in-law was to take in the summer of 1554 which kept him away from home for five long years. Don Martin probably feared, though he cannot have known the result of the investigations into his title to Ribagorza when he settled to accompany Prince Philip on his journey to England. Doubtless he went to gain the Prince's ear, though possibly it was thought advisable that he should not stay at Pedrola to be tempted to do anything hasty or rash to his vassals of Ribagorza. He left the lawsuit in the hands of his mother Doña Ana, and everything else, including the administration of the county, in the care of Doña Luisa.

It is thought that he took his eldest son with him as far as Valladolid, as the child was made "menino" that summer to Doña Juana, Prince Philip's sister, who was to be Governess of Spain during his absence.

Two little daughters and three sons remained at Pedrola with their mother, and it is one of these sons who wrote the history from which much of the information in this book is derived.

Not many days after the Count's departure another child was added to the family, a girl, for whom the three eldest children were sponsors and who was called Inez. Long years afterwards Philip II was to meet her accidentally, as will be told in its proper place.

CHAPTER VII

“**I**T is easy to meet with something one wishes to find, so the Court lawyers discovered if not rights, at any rate pretexts, by which they decided that the fief had terminated and that Don Martin of Aragon held it unlawfully.” These words written by the Marquis de Pidal in his history of the disturbances of Aragon in the time of Philip II are quoted by Señor Melida, and put the whole case in a nutshell.

The result of this finding was that Prince Philip, who had got as far as Zamora on his journey to the coast, wrote, on June 6, 1554, the following communication to Don Martin, which must have reached Pedrola after he had started.

“That the fief of the County of Ribagorza was the direct possession and allodium of his Majesty, who, as the exalted Don Martin de Gurrea y Aragon pretended that it belonged to him, had ordered that it should be placed in royal sequestration, according to the usages, constitutions, and customs of Catalonia, and also had ordered the usual letters of requisition to be written to the effect that the said Don

Martin was not to interfere in the said fief, nor enter it, and that the vassals of the said county must not pay rents to him, either in money or kind ; but take them to the Royal court."

The bailiff general of Aragon was ordered to take possession of the county in person, in the name of the Emperor ; this he did at the capital, Benabarre, and having assembled the Council General of the county, he told them of the royal commands, to which all present agreed, and the matter was thus settled on June 25, 1554.

This information must have missed Don Martin at Pedrola ; but when it did reach him he resolved to appeal to the Aragonese law courts and to oppose the intention of the Crown.

It is not known where Don Martin offered his services to his old master, whether he went direct to Corunna, or, as is more probable, first to Valladolid.

The object of the Prince's journey was his marriage to Queen Mary Tudor of England. He set out from Valladolid on May 14, and went to receive Doña Juana, his widowed sister, who was returning from Portugal to act as regent. He met her at Alcantara, and then went to Zamora, from whence he wrote the peremptory notice to Don Martin, pursuing his journey to Benavente, where the Count of that place held

high festival. Leaving this on June 9, he entered Santiago on the 22nd beneath triumphal arches, through streets hung with tapestry and amid salvos of artillery. Here in the Royal Hospital, where the English ambassadors were lodged, he next day held a reception, and two days later left for Corunna, which he took three days to reach, where he was received with great state and rejoicing under a canopy, which was held by the "regidores"; a naval review being held in his honour.

There is a very minute account of this journey written by a certain Andres Muñoz who went as far as Corunna as a servant in the train of Prince Carlos, and who printed his account in Saragossa that same year. He tells of all the preparations for the journey made by the gentlemen and servants of the Court, and of the device and livery the Prince gave to five hundred of them. The Spanish Guard with crimson sashes and cords of the Prince's colours, white, pink and yellow; the hundred silk clad Germans; the German Archers of the Guard, of whom there were a hundred on horseback, with the same badge and livery, except that they had yellow velvet hoods and tunics; and three hundred more servants dressed to match them. He also gives a list of the grandees and their clothes, and those of their servants and of the stewards and grooms, a list of the clergy,



Photograph by W. Gray

PHILIP II OF SPAIN

From his portrait by Titian, now in America. The property of Mrs. Emery

at the head of whom was the Bishop of Salamanca. "The salaried theologians" for "counsel of consciences," the chamberlains, and other necessary officials, including an apothecary and a cook. Poor Queen Mary had written to beg Prince Philip to bring one, as she feared he would be poisoned; so he may have judged it prudent also to bring an apothecary.

The account also relates how the Prince received the English ambassadors, who came to inform him that the Count de Agamon (a Fleming, a chamberlain of his Majesty and a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece) had given his hand to Queen Mary as proxy for the Prince, according to the powers which his Highness had dispatched to the "sacred Majesty of the Emperor" and tells of the jewels the Queen sent to her bridegroom; besides all the bravery he was taking with him, as well as the names of the nobles who accompanied him—men whose stories "are written in the annals of both worlds, some in letters of glorious light, some in letters of blood."¹ It is curious that it is vain to seek among them for the name of the first grandee of Aragon. Another notable omission from the Spanish list is Sir Thomas Gresham, though perhaps being only a merchant, Muñoz might have thought him not worthy of mention.

¹ "History of England," J. A. Froude.

In his charge was half a million in bullion from the New World, which, on the security of the London Merchants, Charles V was lending to the Queen, for the restoration of the currency.

The Prince first visited the ship of Martin de Bretandona,¹ the *Espiritu Santo*, which was to convey him, and then passed to the one on which the ambassadors had come ; “ where he was given a royal and splendid collation, at which H.H. enjoyed himself with them and the grandees.”

The fleet of a hundred ships and fifty “ zabras” (Biscayan vessels) left about the middle of July, the actual day does not seem certain, and made rapid way before a favourable wind which filled the sails, on which were painted historical scenes, and which made the bright flags float out. No wonder that Spaniards were annoyed by Lord Admiral Howard comparing this fleet to mussel shells.² Probably most unjustly.

Prince Philip was a very bad sailor ; but though it was rather rough the first day out, as the journey was prosperous and only lasted for four days and fourteen hours, perhaps he did not, on this occasion, suffer so much from

¹ The ship was very magnificent. The crew of 300 dressed in crimson. It all appeared “ an earthly paradise ” to the enthusiastic Muñoz.

² Miss Strickland.

sea-sickness as some have averred; but "from duty Philip never shrank, whatever the suffering it entailed."¹

They anchored in Southampton water on July 19.

As all the world knows the Prince was received with much ceremony, and was married to the Queen at Winchester on the day of "Santiago" 1554; as she wished, "with a plain hoop of gold like any other maiden."²

It is to be hoped that dancing bored Don Martin less than card playing, for in the Palace ladies talked and danced all the afternoon and night as was "necessary to amuse so many English and Spanish youths." Possibly Don Martin considered himself at 28, and a married man of thirteen years' standing, as too old for such frivolities, anyhow he makes no mention of them; but he does tell that during his time in England, true to his love for the classics, he was reading Pliny's Natural History, and that what he read there, in the 36th book, caused him to make inquiries of "all those lords and other private persons" about the quantity of pearls obtained in English waters. He does not say in what language he asked these questions, possibly in Latin, though he could talk French,

¹ Major Martin Hume.

² Miss Strickland.

which was more than Philip could do,¹ and a few of the English courtiers, no doubt, spoke Spanish.² Apparently he obtained answers which satisfied him.

It would seem that he made friends with Titian at this time, as writing about the Rape of Europa he says, "The great Titian, the very celebrated painter of our times, gave me in England a picture of this fable, which for the excellence of the painting and as a recollection of the artist I value very much."

Don Martin appears to have shown his cherished possession to Philip, who was so pleased with it that he ordered a replica from Titian, which was delivered by the artist six years later in Madrid.³

Philip had come to England "a second Isaac ready to sacrifice himself to his father's will and for the good of the Church."⁴ This spirit is shown by the story told by Muñoz about the wife of one of the Prince's gentlemen, who asked

¹ J. A. Froude.

² Philip was taught to say "God ni hit" (Good night) a few days after his arrival by the Queen, who could understand Spanish but not speak it. Muñoz and anonymous letter (1554).

³ This was copied by Rubens for the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I. One of the pictures by Titian is now in America, the property of Mrs. Gardner. Señor Melida thinks it is most probably Don Martin's and that the King's copy was burnt in the fire at the Alcázar of Madrid in 1734; but this is not certain.

⁴ Sandoval.

his permission to sell her property to take with them on the expedition. "I order you," was the answer, "neither to sell your property nor to allow it to be sold ; because I am not going to a wedding party but to fight."

His faded bride, with her homely face, cannot have done much to alter his sentiments, or make him forget the beloved Isabel de Osorio left behind in Spain ; and the way his servants were treated, being robbed and insulted by the people, must have been very galling to the Emperor's son ; the sentence in a letter written in the November of this year from one secretary to the other—"The English are so civil that you would hardly believe it,"¹ throws much light on what their conduct had been at first, and though Philip behaved as his chivalry demanded towards his wife, yet it was in truth only six weeks after his arrival that he began to pull at his chain and long to be gone.² This, however, he could not do so soon, much as the Emperor might want him in Flanders.

Philip had been sent by his father to play the part of a "most clement prince." In this rôle he managed for six months to quench the

¹ Major Martin Hume.

² If Miss Strickland is to be believed Philip tried to beguile this time by flirting with his wife's ladies, specially the tall and beautiful Lady Magdalen Dacre, but in this he met with no success, the Queen's ladies being austere and virtuous.

fires of Smithfield, which had broken out with the return of a Catholic queen and her ministers to power, though not until the flames had claimed some victims.

This is Don Martin's version of the matter. "It is very sad in these unhappy times to see Henry VIII, the schismatic King of England, and other misguided princes who followed him, from ambition and covetousness lay hands on the ecclesiastical property in his Kingdom, occupying it, profaning it and converting it to dishonest uses, daring to deny the power of our High Pontiff, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, legitimate successor of St. Peter, unique Prince, Head of the universal and militant Church. From this error, and I do not say it without tears, I saw this great Kingdom converted, the deed of majesty of Mary, the very holy Queen of this Kingdom, like a rose born among thorns, daughter of the same Henry and of Catherine, Infanta of Spain, a brave and learned queen repudiated by the bad Henry. This conversion took place when Philip II, King of Spain, our lord, married the said Mary and reclaimed this Kingdom, though it only lasted a short time, for the sins of the world and by the hidden judgments of God. The greatest pity. With my own eyes I saw the conversion and the whole ecclesiastical state change, and divine service restored, and fourteen heretics burned in

London. All this was undone, as God did not give these princes children."

It was on November 30, 1554 that the ceremony took place to which Don Martin alludes, when in the presence of the Papal Legate Reginald Pole, and of Philip and Mary, England "formally returned to the pale of the Church," to quote Major Martin Hume's words.

It is probable that very soon after this event Don Martin left the country ; he had evidently gone before May, and there are good reasons for thinking that he was not in England in February, 1555.

Philip dispatched several of his courtiers to serve the Emperor in the war he was waging against Henry II, King of France, the seat of which was then in Italy. Don Martin, no doubt, gladly seized the opportunity. Life at Court, for one thing, must have been costly and, for another, it is likely that he had ground his axe, as it is most improbable that a Court painter like Titian would have given a very large picture to a courtier who was out of favour, unless in return for some great service, about which not a word is whispered ; be this as it may, Don Martin went off to the wars to join the generalissimo, the Duke of Alba, who had taken up his command in Milan in the June of that year. This was the 3rd Duke, Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, who is called the "Gran Duque"

and is better known to history as the Governor of Flanders and the general who won Portugal for Spain.

What makes it evident that Don Martin was not in England in May 1555 is the letter of Antonio Perez written on the 27th from Hampton Court, which he spells "Hantoncuy," to Doña Ana, mother of Don Martin.¹

"Very illustrious Lady ; I have received your ladyship's letter of the 6th April, and by it learn of the Lord Count's trouble respecting the lawsuits, which his vassals of Ribagorza have brought on him. God knows how grieved I have been for the anxiety it has given your ladyship and my Lady the Countess, and I wish I could help to remedy it as I would try to do if the King were where the affairs of Aragon are settled, but, as your ladyship must know, he has nothing to do with them, only the Emperor and the Council, and the rest is sent to Spain. All the same, I will do my utmost that the King should make his father understand how just it is that the Count should not be molested ; and if I cannot do this by letter, I will when we meet, which will be when the Queen is confined ; I will speak to him then, and will not forget, as it is necessary for these matters to be sent to the Princess and the Supreme Council, and as they do not know

¹ National Library, Madrid.

the circumstances or the reasons for remedying them, I fear they will not do as I should wish ; at least, if they act as I fear, your ladyship may believe that the Lord Count will have cause for annoyance. If your ladyship could only know how much I have done in the Count's service in this business, and how much I have tried to insure the preservation of his authority and estate, and how suspicious people have been of me, not only those of Ribagorza, but even the Treasurer, and those of the Council, so that what you say about having neglected to remind the King of the Count's affairs, and that if anything has been done it was not thanks to me, did not please me. I say this to exculpate myself from the blame you seem to cast on me, which the Lady Countess showed still more that she felt I merited, when the judgment was given in Saragossa, which was no more my fault than that of St. Francis ; as I neither saw, nor ordered, nor knew what it contained until I was instructed to read it. So I have reason to think that I have been very unlucky ; where I wished to please I have been least appreciated and my aims least recognized ; but for all this I assure your ladyship that I will not give up my good habit of doing right and helping every one I can, especially those who deserve it like the Lord Count, to whom I have always been very devoted, of which I could

bring good evidence ; but as the wrong comes from many, I must see that I am not charged with the fault, they being Councillors and I only secretary and, as your ladyship knows, I can do little in these cases of law.

“ I do not write to the Lord Count, as your ladyship will tell him what I say, and I end with the prayer etc.”

This letter proves that judgment had been already given about the County of Ribagorza, in the Saragossa law courts. It was, however, not the final one, as will be seen.

The letter tells its own story. Doña Luisa's vexation is easily understood, particularly if she thought that Antonio Perez might have been a better friend to the cause. Perhaps she was shrewd enough to discern the double dealing of the secretary, and too honest not to let him know she had done so.

CHAPTER VIII

DON MARTIN journeyed by Antwerp and Cologne, at which latter place he was presented with the heads of "two holy virgins," relics he faithfully brought home four years later, which are mentioned in his will.

Not only had he ordered the armour of his ancestors to be repaired ; but it is thought that it was at this time, when he joined the Duke of Alba in Milan, that he caused two very fine suits to be made, adorned with his own arms and those of Doña Luisa. Milanese armour was justly celebrated, so that it is not surprising that Don Martin should have seized the opportunity of acquiring these suits ; a very modest provision when Charles V's hundred sets, like that in which he rides for ever in Titian's famous Mühlberg picture "something more than an emperor, a man with an imperial soul,"¹ are remembered.

It was in one of these suits that Don Martin is portrayed on the medals which he had made three or four years later in Italy, thus following

¹ "A Little Journey in Spain." J. C. Crawford Fitch.

not only the example of his grandfather, the Duke of Luna, but also of most of the great ones of his day. There are seven of these medals still existing. A small one bears the legend "D. Martin de Aragon Comes Ribagorciæ"; the others are large, and one is made of lead, the bust being surrounded by an identical inscription. The two belonging to the family are similar, except that Don Martin is Dux Villahermosæ instead of Count of Ribagorza. The reverse is the same in all; his own device of Jupiter hurling lightning, with other mythological figures and the motto "Lucemque metumque." A recollection of his grandfather's medal evidently guided the design.

The object of the campaign at that moment was to drive the French out of Piedmont; but little seems to have been done that year, and in the early part of 1556 a truce was made between the Kings of France and Spain. Philip had left Gravesend for Flanders the previous August, and in October the Emperor had resigned to him the crown of the Low Countries, adding that of Spain in the succeeding January. "In the summer of 1556 the war with France broke out again, and Philip found himself face to face with a powerful coalition of the Papacy, France, and the Turk. It meant a war over half Europe." ¹ "The Pope Paul IV. declared Philip

¹ "Queens of Old Spain." Major Hume.



MEDAL OF DON MARTIN OF ARAGÓN, COUNT OF RIBAGORZA,
DUKE OF VILLAHERMOSA

to be deprived of the Kingdom of Naples, and himself attempted to put in force his sentence against the Duke of Alba who was acting there as Philip's Viceroy." ¹ No other course but war was therefore open, and the Duke of Alba with 12,000 men, taking all the towns on the way, advanced to the very gates of Rome, at which juncture the Pope was forced to sue for an armistice. This was, no doubt, most gladly granted by the "Gran Duque" for the war must have been a distasteful one to him as a devout Catholic, and no less so to Don Martin, who it is thought took advantage of the truce to visit Rome ; as it is very evident that the description of the Eternal City in the "Discourses" is the work of one who had trodden its streets. For instance when he writes of "the door, which to-day is behind the Church of St. Celso, where may be seen the remains of a marble arch and a statue much spoiled by time." Or by the simple remark, "all those who have seen Rome will understand."

He was, no doubt, with the Duke of Alba in Naples, where even the church bells were melted for cannon, and the French army under the Duke of Guise was successfully repulsed in the beginning of 1557.

Philip, meanwhile, was collecting an army of Germans, Spaniards and English. This Don

¹ J. A. Froude.

Martin joined, and he must have gone with the Constable of Castelnueve, whom the King had summoned with troops from Naples ; Philip had also sent his favourite Ruy Gomez to Spain to recruit, the Ruy Gomez to whom Father Francis had begged Doña Luisa to write about a hospital in Burgos, as he was a patron of the Company of Jesus. Father Francis was, at the time of Ruy Gomez' journey, in Avila, founding a college in that ancient city, which still sits within her walls among the hills, like one portrayed in the background of some mediæval picture. For the first and last time the erstwhile Duke of Gandia summoned his brothers and sons there, and when they, having obeyed his command, were assembled, he thus addressed them—"The King, Don Philip our Lord, is almost surrounded by his enemies in Flanders. I have called you together to tell you that I shall not consider him as one of my blood who does not offer himself and shed his in the King's service."

This, more than Don Martin's letters, convinced Doña Luisa of the gravity of the situation, and made her pray very fervently that he might return from the war not only with his life but with renown.

Three at least of the Borja family obeyed the wish of the head of their house, not altogether sorry, perhaps, to be able to leave Spain with

honour for a while, as one of them, if not all three, had been in hiding under Doña Louisa's wing at Pedrola until the search for them was over. The reason of their pursuit was the following, and the whole business must have given much anxiety to Doña Luisa, though she welcomed them kindly.

A feud had sprung up at Valencia between the noble families of Figuerolas and Pardo de la Casta in which not only her half brother Don Pedro de Borja, who was Master of Montesa, and later Viceroy of Catalonia, but also her nephew the Duke of Gandia became involved. Two of the Pardos compassed the death of a Figuerola, and his relations and friends, in revenge, caused three men-at-arms, one of whom was a servant of Don Pedro's, to wound severely one of the Pardos on a January night. The Governor of Segovia arrested the men and had them garotted, as the Duke of Segovia took the Pardo side in the quarrel. Angered by this, three of the Borjas joined with the Figuerolas and fired an arquebus at the Duke of Segovia's son, near the new bridge in Valencia, on January 27; the victim dying a week later. The Duke of Maqueda, who was the Viceroy, sent troops everywhere in search of the aggressors, and the Borjas, realizing their danger, were forced to flee.

To return to the war in Flanders. King

Philip placed the troops under the command of his first cousin the Duke of Savoy, and declared war against the French King, laying siege to St. Quentin, a fortress situated between France and the Low Countries, at which siege Don Martin was present.

The Duke of Savoy had 50,000 men under him with which he entered France and, after taking Hesdin, fell back on the ungarrisoned fortress of St. Quentin, to whose assistance Coligny hastened. Here on August 10, the celebrated battle was fought, which resulted in a great victory for Spain. Don Martin, under the command of the Count of Egmont, followed the red banner of the Duke of Savoy, taking three out of the total of fifty colours gained in the engagement, which cost France all her artillery and one thousand men, of whom half were killed ; the Constable of France being one of the prisoners.

Philip was at Cambrai, and the Duke of Savoy lost no time in sending him the welcome news ; this he dispatched in a letter borne by "a gentleman." A tradition, which there is not the slightest reason to discredit, asserts that this "gentleman" was Don Martin, and also affirms that it was he who first suggested to the King the idea of building a convent monastery to be dedicated to St. Lawrence, whose feast falls on August 10. This Spanish martyr

was a Roman soldier, and a native of Lauret near Huesca, and the first intention was to build the memorial there. A site, however, was finally chosen on the side of the Guadarama mountains, behind which Philip could see the sun setting or at times their white peaks rising against the blue sky from the windows of his castle at Madrid; and there in time rose the world-famous Escorial, which comprised not only the monastery, but also a palace and the royal mausoleum, which the Emperor had instructed his son to build for his own place of sepulture, whenever his end should come to the Cæsar, then quietly awaiting it in the cloister of Yuste.

The popular idea that the Escorial was built like a gridiron in memory of the one on which St. Lawrence was martyred hardly seems borne out by fact, although an examination of the ground plan shows that, being square, with interior courts and a small wing, there is some reason for the legend.

A church and monastery were also built by the King at Lauret, towards the expense of which Don Martin offered his barony of Grañen, "although it was unnecessary" adds a biographer of Doña Luisa.

As soon as Philip received the news of the victory, he at once rejoined his army and hoisted the royal standard before St. Quentin

on August 13, having decided to continue the campaign.

A list exists of the names of fifty-three "gentlemen" who served the King in this war, and among the most distinguished of them is to be found that of the "Conde de Ribagorza," the name by which Don Martin was known to his contemporaries, although to avoid confusion he is not so called in these pages. These "gentlemen" formed part of the "King's Squadron," a very brilliant one, who, whenever the King went armed, "were so too, splendidly equipped, in a manner as magnificent as it was costly," says the writer of a contemporary document. No doubt Don Martin made a brave show in his Milanese armour, and he is cited as one of "those lords who maintained the campaign." A five years' war, during which "kinsmen and other gentlemen were maintained," must have been no light matter.

The Duke of Savoy, it would appear, desired to march straight on Paris, but to this the more prudent monarch objected, and determined to take the fortress, which was bravely defended by Admiral Coligny. The siege began on August 14, and it was not till the 27th that the Spaniards succeeded in entering the place, which was given over to the horrors of a sack; the same anonymous chronicler says that "no

man, woman, or child remained alive in any house entered by Germans or English," and that "his Majesty could not prevent the Germans burning the place, which was the greatest pity in the world." The King did all he could to avert the carnage, taking women for safety to his own tents and those of the Bishop of Arras, as well as to churches. The nuns were given shelter in the tents of the Duke of Savoy and the Count of Feria, because "if they had spent the night in their convents they would all have been killed by the Germans." Some of these were just beginning to assault a convent, when Don Martin came to the rescue, making those soldiers who had entered the building leave it, and guarding and defending it as long as there was any necessity for doing so. He must have had his hands full, as the King had entrusted some important matters to him, and it is probably due to him that the ammunition and artillery were preserved. The gratitude of the nuns knew no bounds. They had good cause, as it was to Don Martin that they owed not only their possessions, but most probably their lives, and as a thank offering they presented their deliverer with a reliquary containing a piece of the True Cross which still is in existence at Pedrola. In this convent there was a picture of the Virgin which very much took Don Martin's fancy, and

he asked the nuns to allow him to have it for his wife, in order that he might fulfil a promise he had made to Doña Luisa. Like the merchant in the old fairy story, Don Martin had asked his wife what present he should bring her from his travels, and she, even less grasping than Beauty, at first said that if he would come back himself, it was all she wanted ; but, as he pressed her to name some present, she had asked him for a picture of Our Lady, making a condition that it was not only to be pretty but dignified and “ honesta.” The nuns gladly gave the picture, and later on when it came into Doña Luisa’s possession, she was enchanted with it ; but no trace of it remains to-day ; unless it be the one brought by Don Martin from Flanders, now in the Saragossa Museum.

After the King had entered the town on the third day, the places in the immediate neighbourhood had to be dealt with. Don Martin was sent with the Count of Aremburg to take the strongly fortified castle of Castelet, whose garrison had to surrender their lives, effects, and arms to the attacking party who had demolished the walls of the fortress.

The King next decided to attack Ham, a fortified town on the banks of the Somme. The army was divided for this purpose into two wings, one under the Duke of Savoy, the King himself leading the other, with which it is

believed Don Martin went ; but this is uncertain. Very soon after this, Philip, frightened by the autumnal rains which the Bishop of Arras said would place the army and his reputation in jeopardy if they continued, decided to disband his force, instead of following up the victory as he might have done.

The following letter shows that Don Martin's distinguished service was not passed over unrewarded. It is from Doña Juana, who was Regent of Spain in the absence of her brother. "Governor, we have heard from the Countess Doña Ana, mother of the Count of Ribagorza, Don Martin of Aragon, that since the Count is absent from the Kingdom on the service of the King my brother, certain private persons have brought many lawsuits against him, which, as the Count is away, are an anxiety to him for various reasons, seeing there is no one to look after them except the Countess his wife, who, being alone, and not possessing the necessary information to reply to these suits, the Count might easily suffer considerable injustice. We therefore beg you that, as he is serving his Majesty with his person and estate in peace and in war, you will not allow him to be molested with unnecessary charges, but that justice to him may be done that he should experience no trouble or loss by these means. Given in Valladolid, December 21, 1557. The Princess."

Six months later through the same channel came another favour from the King, creating Don Martin Duke of Villahermosa. The patent is signed by the Princess on behalf of the Emperor, who in his retreat at Yuste still kept Spanish affairs in his own hands, and is dated July 29, 1558.

Doña Juana further writes to the Bailiff General of Aragon as follows. "We have granted the favour to Don Martin de Gurrea and of Aragon of all the rights in respect of the Duchy of Villa Hermosa and the Baronies of Artana and Arenco appertaining to his Majesty through the rebellion and treason of Don Fernando de Santo Serverino, for which we have ordered him to be deprived of them according to our Royal Privileges. As it is the will of his Majesty and ours that this should take effect and that our favour should be fruitful, we say and order you not to impede Don Martin of Aragon or his procurator in the matter, but to give him freely possession of the said Duchy of Villa Hermosa and the Baronies of Artana and Arenco, according to the tenure and all necessary help and favour. Such is his Majesty's will and ours."¹

Don Martin considered that he had a good claim to these estates, for reasons which will be stated presently ; nevertheless he was over-

¹ Academy of History, Madrid.

joyed at obtaining them, and at once sent the glad news to Doña Luisa, who rewarded the messenger with 500 ducats for his return journey. On September 11 in Saragossa she signed a paper empowering the Lord of Torres Torres and Castellmonte, who lived at Villahermosa, to take possession in the name of the new Duke, which he did on October 2, 1558.

It will be remembered that King John of Aragon was the father of the first duke, who had a son named John to whom was given the County of Ribagorza and the dukedom of Luna, and who was Don Martin's grandfather. The Duke of Villahermosa besides left a legitimate daughter and a son, who in due course became the second duke ; but as neither of his projected marriages, one with the Countess of Messina, the other with the celebrated Lucretia Borgia, came to anything, he died childless and his estates passed to Don Fernando de Santo Serverino, Prince of Salerno, son of his dead sister Marina, with the provision that in the event of there being no heirs the inheritance was to pass to the Count of Ribagorza.

The Prince of Salerno, therefore, became fourth duke when he was only six years old. He was afterwards celebrated for the pomp and state in which he lived at Naples ; the splendour of his Court vying with that of a monarch. He was also distinguished for his warlike deeds,

maintaining twelve hundred men at arms, with whom he fought in the Emperor's service. Owing to a quarrel with the Toledos, father and son, then Viceroys of Naples (giving their name to the well-known street), he was obliged to leave the country ; and, finding himself involved in a lawsuit and fallen from the Emperor's favour, he fled to France to offer his services to Henry II, and there became naturalized ; dying in 1568, " in much affliction and poverty," says de Beltencourt. Hence the confiscation and sequestration of the Villahermosa estates, for which sentence was given in Valencia on June 30, 1554, a date which coincided with Don Martin's departure from Pedrola to offer his services to Philip ; so to make this claim may have been an additional motive for his journey. It must have been a legitimate subject for self-congratulation that he had won these honours by his bravery and loyalty to his King, and, apart from the titles bestowed, a secure revenue could have seemed no small advantage, taking Ribagorza and its lawsuits into consideration. It must not be forgotten, however, that Don Martin inherited at any rate the larger part of the property of his grandmother the " Rica Hembra," so that funds cannot have been lacking to flow into the beautifully worked money-chest which is thought to have been his, and which remains in the possession of his descendants.

CHAPTER IX

DON MARTIN spent the greater part of the year 1558 at Brussels. In a very long, kindly letter written on July 1 to one whom he calls "Our most excellent friend," probably an old retainer, as he says it would grieve him to see his correspondent "aged and tired," and that he wished him "all the rest in the world, and all I can do to give it you I will," he states that he was then well, but had been ill of a tertian fever, and that they were all of them "ready for this war." "You will have heard," he proceeds, "of the favour his Majesty has done me in giving me possession of Villahermosa, and so I will not repeat it." The remainder of this epistle relates to various businesses under the care of this "magnifico amado," how pleased he was at the punishment meted out to some evildoers who apparently had tried wrongly to persuade the Viceroy of Catalonia that a certain captain was changed every three years, and how, as he could get no help in restoring the fortress of Villahermosa, he was endeavouring to get rid of it. The pith of the letter, however, is that as he thought the

lawsuit would end in his favour, he begged the correspondent to use his best efforts to get certain persons to withdraw from it, so that the matter might end peaceably, a solution he (Don Martin) would much prefer to its being terminated by the King's orders.

The letter is signed, probably in jest, "Yo el ge Duque."

Preparations for the war, for which he says "they were all ready," were made with good reason, as the battle of Gravelines was fought on July 13, less than a fortnight after this missive was written; whether he was present at this engagement is not known. It was a crushing defeat for the French troops, and after it both Kings, weary of the long struggle, agreed to an armistice.

This armistice gave Don Martin another opportunity of serving his sovereign, by accompanying a niece of the Emperor's, the widowed Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan and subsequently of Lorraine, who was going to France to visit her son Charles, whom Henry II had taken prisoner, and had had educated with the Dauphin. Henry had acted thus, and given the government of Lorraine to the boy's uncle, as he mistrusted Christina, who was much devoted to her uncle the Cæsar. Her black-robed figure is familiar to most people as her celebrated portrait by Holbein hangs in the

National Gallery ; perhaps fewer people are aware that she nearly became Queen of England as Henry VIII's fourth wife. True she was not very solicitous of this hazardous honour, but it was less her feelings than the fact that Henry would not ask for the Papal dispensation necessary to allow him to espouse the great-niece of Catherine of Aragon, which caused the project to fall through.

A life of Christina has lately been written for the first time¹ and tells the story of a noble woman, gentle and sympathetic, richly endowed with "the rare and indefinite quality that we call charm," casting her spell over all who came within the sphere of her influence, men and women alike, which was felt by many, including Prince Philip himself, during the winter they met at Augsburg.

At this date she was a widow for the second time after a few years of perfect happiness as the wife of Francis, Duke of Lorraine, and after his death never would consent to marry again.

Her son was at Peronne near Amiens, and, taking advantage of the suspension of hostilities, she desired to visit him. Philip wished her to travel with all the grandeur befitting his father's niece, which must have suited Christina well, as she always journeyed in great state.

¹ "Christina of Denmark." Julia Cartwright.

This expedition was undertaken at Don Martin's own expense at a cost of not less than 70,000 crowns, being conducted with the magnificence suitable to a person of his rank, while "vying with other princes in a foreign country," and in a way which much pleased the King.

Among the Spaniards in Don Martin's train was one of Doña Luisa's brothers and two of her nephews, sons of the Duke of Gandia.

The bishop of Arras, Antonio Perrenot, better known as Cardinal Granvelle, also accompanied the party, and he and Don Martin remained friends for life; not only were some of the coins in the latter's celebrated cabinet gifts from the magnificent prelate, but in later days he went to stay at Pedrola. Don Martin says of him that he had a real knowledge of antiquities and a true love of them, and calls him "a father of learning and good discoveries." Soon after the conference he was left as Primate of the Netherlands to assist the Duchess of Parma as Governess of the Low Countries. He made himself so unpopular that Philip II was forced to make him retire; but this by no means ended his prosperous career. His gentle face as portrayed by Gaetano does not suggest the intriguing politician he in fact was.

The object of the Duchess's journey was not only to visit her son and arrange for his ransom,

but she also had to take part in the negotiations for peace between the two monarchs. The Spanish delegates were the Duke of Alba, the Prince of Orange, the Bishop of Arras, Ruy Gomez, Philip's dearest friend, afterwards Prince of Evoli, and the President of the Privy Council of Flanders. The French ones were the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Bishop of Orange, Marshal de Saint André, the Secretary of State and the Constable Montmorency ; besides three English representatives, Lord Arundel, Dr. Wotton and Bishop Thirlby.

The conference took place at the Abbey of Cercamps, within the territory of Calais, which had been lost by the English to France on the preceding January 6. The question of its restitution seems to have been one of the chief points under discussion, Philip, or rather the Duke of Alba, at first taking sides with the English, so that the negotiations were nearly broken off, as Calais and Metz were the only spoils France clung to.

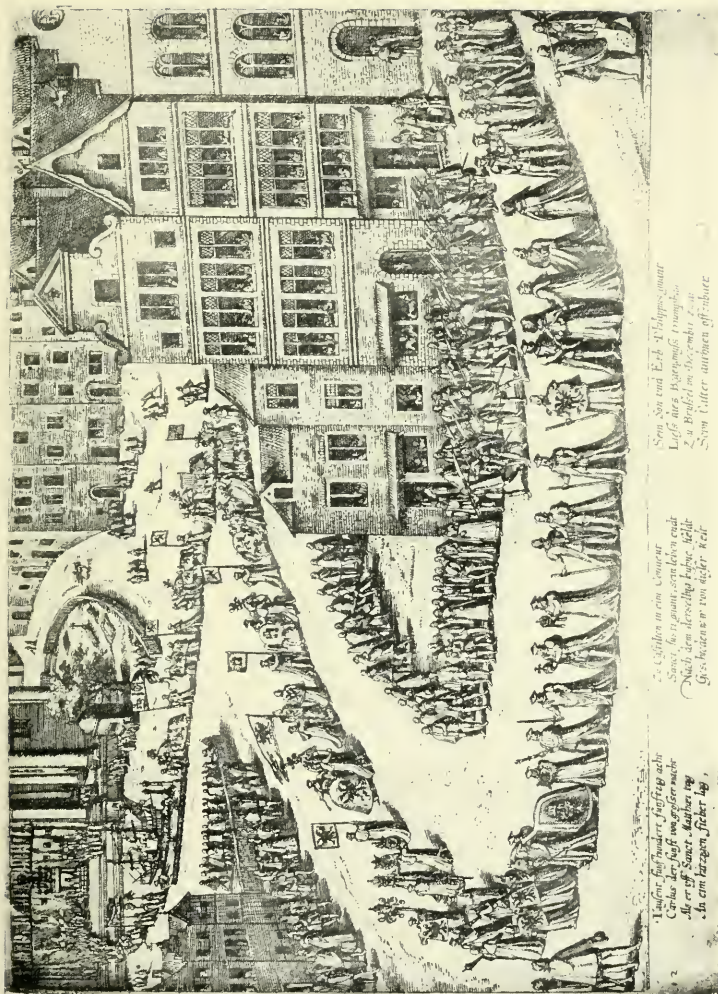
It is to be presumed, taking Don Martin's expenditure into consideration, that he remained in Cercamps during these deliberations, in which tradition says that he took part, though, in view of his usual abstention from politics, it seems more likely that he merely acted as escort to the Princess.

Meanwhile the Emperor passed away after a

very few days' illness at Yuste. The fact was notified to Don Martin by Princess Juana herself, in a letter sent from Valladolid on September 29, saying that the event had taken place eight days earlier.

This may have caused him to return to Brussels, but at any rate December found him there, as he took part in the "pompe funèbre" which Philip II celebrated in memory of his late father. The Cæsar had, in fact, been already buried at Yuste for more than three months, his obsequies directed by his faithful servant Luis Quijada, with all the ceremony that poor place could provide; therefore the cortège which wound its way through the wintry streets at Brussels partook more of the nature of a Roman triumph than of a funeral. With such processions the children of the Renaissance delighted to honour their great dead, and though, to modern ears, a ship drawn by griffins bearing the three Virtues, the Pillars of Hercules, the Emperor's own device, drawn by sea monsters and the "lifelike dolphins," may suggest rather a Lord Mayor's show than a funeral, the display must have been picturesque and imposing in the extreme. According to the manuscript account¹ it was "as sumptuous as it was right that it should be for so great and notable a Prince, and shows at his death how much he had been loved

¹ Archives Sinmaneas.



1. Kaiser hat ruhet, stieg er ab
 Charles der Hoff was gefen nach
 Au er off Sauer. Machen lag
 In ein kargen, stier lag

2. Gesten in ein Genuet
 Sauer, hat ruhet, stieg er ab
 Nach dem derschup fahre, Wille
 Gschunden in von dier, Kell

3. Sein von Eck stieg er ab
 Lieff dier Wergung, stieg er ab
 Zu Briel in dier, stieg er ab
 Sein Ecker auten, stieg er ab

× Don Martin

× King Philip

THE "POMPA FUNEBRE" OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V., WHICH TOOK PLACE IN BRUSSELS,

DECEMBER 29, 1558

From a contemporary print in the National Library, Madrid

in his lifetime ; it was worthy of him and of so good a son."

The route had been boarded off, and was lined by members of the municipality carrying lighted torches, and by the Guilds. All those who were to take part in the funeral met in the Palace, the lords " great and small," the justices and all the important people of the States as well as the servants and pensioners of the King and the late Emperor ; also the clergy and all the abbots and bishops, the orders, the brothers of which were arrayed in their richest vestments, likewise the parochial clergy and chaplains and canons of the cathedral, the King's choristers, two hundred poor men dressed in mourning each carrying a lighted torch, the deputies, doctors, and many others. There is no need to jot down all the long list.

When the procession set out from the black hung palace at a little before two o'clock, it was preceded by the crosses of the cathedral accompanied by acolytes, to each of whom was given a wax candle.

After the gentlemen came the trumpeters and halberdiers carrying their unfurled colours reversed, then three kings-at-arms, the middle one bearing the Emperor's coat-of-arms.

Then came the aforesaid ship, " which signified the conquest of the Indies, in which were three Virtues and many standards and flags,

drawn by two marine griffins." It was followed by the Pillars of Hercules, which were drawn by two sea monsters and a dolphin "all very natural." "The ship went so near the Pillars that it seemed joined to them; all so lifelike that it was worth seeing. Around the ship were painted all the labours and triumphs of the Cæsarian Majesty; also there was much writing on it and two flags."

This emblematical vessel stood for the New World in the pageant, and most, if not all, of the other possessions of the great Emperor were represented by a banner and a horse, which each had its special colours, arms and badge, and was led by black cords by two gentlemen, whose names are all faithfully recorded, as are those of the standard bearers. There were twenty-seven banners and flags and twenty-four horses. The horses which followed the standards of the armies had cloths of brocade bearing the royal arms, which reached to the ground.

The Emperor's shield, his helmet with its vizor, his sword and coat of mail were all carried by great personages. Then went two mace bearers and three kings-at-arms bearing the royal arms.

Then came the collar of the Order, the Imperial Sceptre, the Imperial Sword which was borne by the Duke of Villahermosa (Don Martin), the

El dug de villahermosa



DON MARTIN OF ARAGÓN, DUKE OF VILLAHERMOSA, CARRYING THE ROYAL SWORD, "THE NOBLEST OF THE ATTRIBUTES OF ROYALTY," IN THE "POMPA FUNEBRE" OF CHARLES V
A portion of print by Hogenberg in National Library, Madrid

Orb by the Prince of Orange, and the Imperial Crown by the Prior of San Juan.

The chamberlains followed ; the Duke of Alba, as Lord Chamberlain, wearing the insignia of the Golden Fleece ; then walked the King, his robe held on the right by the Duke of Brunswick, on the left by the Duke of Arcos, and the train by the Count of Melito (Ruy Gomez) followed by the Duke of Savoy, who went alone, like the King, his hood covering his head, but holding up " his own petticoats."

The Knights of the Golden Fleece, councillors, ambassadors and other worthies closed the cortége.

Two days later the same procession was repeated to attend mass, but without the clergy, horses or insignia, which had remained all night in the church. This was hung with black cloth and velvet, the lady chapel enclosed so that undesirable people could be excluded, and the boarding was painted black.

In front of the altar was a platform on which nearly three thousand wax candles, each weighing a pound, twinkled ; besides the torches at the four corners. Three diadems, the Imperial Crown being the highest, loomed over the " great tomb," which was covered with black brocade. All around was a ring of candlesticks, " and it was pleasant to see all their candles burning."

On the steps of the church a scaffold was erected by which the horses could enter, and another inside by which they could cross the building, and as they passed in the procession they were taken to present themselves as well as the insignia. The service ended at two o'clock after a good sermon in French and "with it the end of Charles V. May he rest in peace."

A few months later Don Martin was almost certainly taking part in pageants of a very different nature.

After peace had been concluded at the conference which met in the spring of 1559 at Cateau-Cambresis, now Le Cateau, it was arranged that Philip, once more a widower through the death of Queen Mary Tudor in the previous November, was to wed the youthful daughter of the French King, and a brilliant embassy was sent to Paris.

The Duke of Alba, who was to act as the King's proxy, set out at the head of a company of Spanish gentlemen of whom Don Martin must have been one, as it is told that when peace was declared he royally entertained the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise.

From other sources it is known that the Duke of Alba was lodged in the Rue St. Honoré and his suite in the Palace of the Louvre, but never a word does Martin say of this, or of the bravery

of the attire of the usually plainly dressed Duke when on the wedding day, June 22, he donned the Imperial Crown, or of the procession of the fourteen-year-old Princess, lovely in her bridal finery, followed by maidens dressed in rose colour and gold, and escorted by three queens, of whom one was Mary Queen of Scots, hardly more beautiful than the little bride herself, the much beloved Isabel of the Peace, as she was called by her husband's subjects.

About all this Don Martin is silent, nor does he mention the merrymaking which followed, "Princes, cardinals and lords giving feasts by turns" and seeing who could make the most sumptuous display; nor even the tragedy at the tournament of June 29, when the King of France was wounded to death, and all this rejoicing was turned to mourning.

This event caused the Spaniards to remain for some time in France, and it is thought that it was this opportunity of which Don Martin availed himself to visit Fontainebleau (or Fontinoble as he spells it) as he observes it was in the reign of Francis II, Isabel's brother.

"Whenever I look at this coin," he says, "I think of the excellent and famous statue (that I saw in the reign of Francis II at Fontinoble, a most celebrated house belonging to the very Christian Kings of France) which Paul IV sent to Henry by his nephew Carlos Garrafa, at the

time of the war with Naples, which is very like this coin, except that it has two hounds at the foot. It is so excellent and celebrated that it surpassed all the objects there, which are endless."

He alludes, of course, to the well-known Diana, now in the Louvre Museum; and Señor Melida draws attention to the fact that Don Martin says that it was given by the Pope to Henry II, and not acquired by Francis I as is generally supposed. A statue of Diana would doubtless have been a most welcome gift to Henry II, as to the day of his death Diane de Poitiers was the real Queen of France, putting Catherine de' Medici on one side.

From Paris it is thought that Don Martin returned to Philip at Brussels; both were turning their thoughts homewards after their five years' absence.

Great was the joy of Doña Luisa when she heard the news of her lord's unexpected return. She hastened to send him the money he required for the journey, adding two thousand crowns, asking him to pay the postilions generously to bring him home the quicker. Don Martin was so delighted at this graceful action on the part of his wife, that he could not refrain from telling every one at Court about it, and all congratulated him on possessing so incomparable a wife.

After her death a prayer was found written by Doña Luisa on the occasion of his return, which concludes thus. "I desire the company of my husband, and in his return I have my wish. I receive him as a gift from Thy Hand for Thy Good, a favour which I like to think shows that Thou hast remembered me by granting me this mercy, by which I am made, and hope always to thank Thee for being, very delighted and happy."

CHAPTER X

IT will be well to say something of the joys and sorrows as well as of the saintly daily life of Doña Luisa during the five years her Ulysses was away from home.

A real grief came to her in the autumn of the year he left, 1554. Her aunt, the Abbess of St. Clara's, passed away on October 26 and the loss of her delightful letters must have left a blank in the monotonous life at Pedrola. It would have been a joy to receive the following, particularly as it came when one of her children had been very ill. "Yesterday I wrote," says Sor Francisca, "but I did not think that Samson would leave so soon; to-day they have come to tell me to write, as the Duke has finished writing. I say this, as in yesterday's letter I promised to send a long one by Samson, and to-day I do not know if I shall be able to do this. But how certain are all human comforts to fail! What might take sheets to tell I must say in a few words; certainly many are not wanted between your ladyship and me, as in truth we are mother and daughter; and I do not think I am deceived, and I know your

ladyship is not." The missive, after all, is a long one, full of loving words and pious thoughts ending with this postscript, "Reading the letter over I think what I say about your ladyship being my daughter in every way is not correct. I should have said in everything except in writing to me as 'Illustrious.' I do not want to quarrel, so I shall punish you by calling you 'My Lady.'"

Their common friend Padre Araoz, mentioned in one of her letters by Sor Francisca as suffering so badly from sciatica that he had to have a chair in the pulpit, wrote to Rome to ask for the suffrages of the community, and to break the sad news of her death to Ignatius Loyola, who answered on the following January 8. "To exercise charity the masses for Mother Sor Francisca shall be said by those your Reverence names ; though I think we want her help more than she wants ours ; and though we are grieved, yet we cannot be sad for her translation, knowing how precious in the sight of God is the death of His saints."

The loss of her aunt was only the "beginning of sorrows" for Doña Luisa. On January 24, 1556, the Count of Niebla died, who for many years had been like a brother to her ; perhaps the attachment had always been too fraternal for it ever to have blossomed into anything warmer, as his mother, at one time, had clearly hoped.

The Duchess of Medina Sidonia did not long survive her son, expiring on the following July 18. Doña Luisa mourned for this aunt, as if for a second mother, which Doña Ana had truly been to her. Her good advice must have been gratefully remembered by the niece, who must have longed to go and nurse and console her uncle, then fallen ill of the complaint to which he succumbed rather more than two years later.

One of Doña Luisa's greatest wishes was that her brother, now Father Francis, should be sent to the house of the Order in Saragossa ; she even wrote to Ignatius Loyola on the subject, and sent the letter together with one from Don Martin, this being before he left home, by the Cardinal de la Cueva, who was, as St. Ignatius calls him, " a very particular friend."

The reply came that he would write to Father Francis, and that, though he would not order him, he had no doubt that the Father would act as Doña Luisa wished, though by the King's desire he had either gone or was to go to Portugal, but would not stay there long.

This letter, now in a convent at Saragossa, must have made her all the more impatient to attain her wish. Whether she did so cannot be said with certainty, though it is surmised that he came, as in one of the letters of Father Francis to her, he speaks of envying her the

“happy times she spent in the ‘tribuna baja,’” as if he knew the “low pew” which was the holy Duchess’s favourite place of prayer, whose blood-stained walls still bore witness to her self-mortification a hundred and twenty years later. The pew itself still exists.

It is certain that she did see one of her sisters again, by obtaining leave from the Pope that one of them, a nun, should come to Saragossa ; and during the days Sor Juana was there, the sisters were never apart.

The difficulties of travelling must have made partings real tragedies in those days, and also must have prevented the friendship of many kindred spirits. How much in common would Doña Luisa have had with Don Martin’s kinswoman, Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, or with St. Theresa herself, had circumstances allowed them to meet. These would, no doubt, have been exceptions to the rule Doña Luisa made, of neither paying nor receiving any unnecessary visits, as she considered them conducive to vanity and to waste of money in clothes and presents, occasions for gossip and loss of time. Indeed she can have had but little leisure for any relaxation, so many were the calls on her ; owing to Don Martin’s absence there was Ribagorza to be governed, and such an incident as the following must have caused her much anxious thought.

The county was still far from being in a quiet state, and a worthy man who was known for his loyalty to his overlord was for this reason the object of mistrust to those less well disposed ; until at length he was forced to leave his own home and take refuge in Pedrola under the protection of the Countess, who admitted him to the town. His enemies, still further incensed by this, followed the man to Pedrola in order to kill him. This came to the ears of Doña Luisa, and she had them arrested and placed in a secret prison. Their relations, hearing nothing of them for a long time, imagined that they were all dead. Burning with rage against the Countess, whom they supposed to be the cause of this, it seemed that a general rising was inevitable, but with great cleverness she devised a means by which the ends of justice would be satisfied without bloodshed. She wrote a very severe letter to the inhabitants of Ribagorza, in which she told them that the prisoners were still alive, and would be punished with the rigour they deserved, but that, as she was sorry for their innocent families, whose reputations would suffer through this, she was willing to let the prisoners go free, if their relations would repair the damage done and be sureties for the good behaviour of the men ; as all she wanted was peace and the common weal. While waiting for the reply from Ribagorza the case was tried, and resulted

in a sentence of death being passed on the prisoners. This she let the relations know, and at the same time that the aggrieved party was willing to offer a free pardon. The agreement from the sureties that she wanted came as an answer from Ribagorza. After reading it she ordered the prisoners to be brought to her presence. They came loaded with chains ; and she also summoned the ministers of justice who read the death sentence to the unhappy criminals. Then Doña Luisa, fixing her eyes on them, said with great dignity that she had not brought them to Pedrola, that they themselves had put on their own chains, and shut their own prison door ; for this and the absolute innocence of their intended victim, they richly deserved to lose not only the liberty they made so ill a use of, but also their lives ; that she did not, however, wish for their destruction but for their amendment, and as their relations would be sureties for them, she had persuaded their adversary to forgive them ; so she was able to pardon them, “ which I do with all my heart,” she added, “ and I pronounce you acquitted from the costs of the suit and from the fiscal charges due to me from your imprisonment ; so that you may return home absolutely free, to fulfil your obligations as good Christians and loyal, peaceable vassals, with the understanding that you are to present yourselves at my prison, if called on to do so.”

The wretched prisoners threw themselves at her feet and tearfully promised to be, not only grateful vassals, but her humble slaves all their lives.

The Countess then ordered their fetters to be undone and provided them with food and money for their journey home, and it is pleasant to know that they never more disturbed the public peace during the life-time of their liege lady.

It was by these tactful means that Doña Luisa managed to maintain order among the inhabitants of Ribagorza, always on the lookout to seize any favourable opportunity for throwing off the yoke of its Counts ; though the vassals possessed many privileges to protect them from their over-lord. Every year on January 22 an assembly very like the Cortes of Castille took place at Benabarre, the chief town, "to which came only the Count, the syndics and procurators of certain towns."

One day a stranger came to Pedrola from Flanders, bearing news of Don Martin ; if only for this reason he would have been gladly admitted, and possibly he was a relation, as Don Martin speaks of "Don John de Rojas, my uncle" ; moreover he seemed a holy man, with whom Doña Luisa held long and edifying conversations ; but little by little it dawned upon her that this man was not preaching the religion with which

she had been familiar from childhood, and she finally ended by closing her doors to him.

He then went to Father Francis, and his visit met with the same results. Shortly afterwards this Rojas was arrested and sentenced and executed at the celebrated *auto-de-fé* at Valladolid. Any disagreeable consequences were avoided for the sister and brother by Rojas himself declaring that they had never had any sympathy for his opinions; and, moreover, giving testimony to the respect with which Doña Luisa's faith and virtues had inspired him.

The household must have taken up much of Doña Luisa's time, as economy was very necessary. So far as possible she reduced the expenses of the house, being frugal in everything, except in what concerned her children and Don Martin, whose expenditure must have been considerable, as he was serving without pay, and her pride was to send him money before he asked for it.

One of her wise rules was to pay for everything at once, and every Saturday the public crier was told to go round the town and order all those to whom anything was due to present themselves at the palace, were the debt only the infinitesimal one of a single maravedi; by this means nothing could be owing for more than a week. She also personally went into the accounts with her stewards, and there is a story of her kindness

and tact towards a worthy "hidalgo" who acted for her as receiver and arranged the accounts, handing them on afterwards to the accountant, who on one occasion found them a thousand ducats wrong. This was notified to the receiver, who, acknowledging that the fact was undeniable, asked for time to make the amount good, for which he made use of his own fortune for the greater part, the balance being lent to him by others. All this came to her knowledge, and being sorry for the receiver, who thus saw his credit shipwrecked, and knowing him to be an honest man, she sent for him to her presence. He came, full of fears that his mistress had summoned him in order to throw him into some dungeon, but he breathed again when he discovered her object was to extricate him with honour from his difficulty. To this end she ordered him to pay the thousand ducats direct to her, and to look over the accounts without showing any signs of surprise and to give them to her on a separate paper. The receiver obeyed, much relieved by the kindness of his reception. He returned home and recast his accounts, which he found to be the same as before ; he only had to add the receipt for the thousand ducats the Countess had given him, and then, presenting himself a second time, he was welcomed with the same kindness, and with advice to be more careful in

the future she returned him the money so that he was able to repay his friends, while she remained his only creditor.

Doña Luisa was also a very kind mistress to her servants, choosing them with great care and preferring to take the daughters of vassals into her service, whom the indispensable Medinillas then trained up in the way they should go. She was careful to pay them good wages with punctuality, so that they might serve her willingly and gladly, and also that she should, without difficulty, be able to send them away, were there good cause to do so.

In her will Doña Luisa left sums of money to various members of her household, chiefly marriage portions, which were to be cancelled, had the beneficiary been already dowered during Doña Luisa's lifetime.

The Medinillas were, of course, well remembered, but other names also appear. Doña Isabel de Torres, presumably a duenna, who besides a sum of "sueldos Jaques" (gold pieces of Aragon) was to have as a "special favour" a well-trimmed cloth gown and cloak. On Casilda de Piedrahietta, a servant and the daughter of a servant, one John de Piedrahietta, besides 3500 sueldos was to be bestowed one of Doña Luisa's own black velvet gowns. Catalina and Anica "my maids" were to have their wages paid and some clothes. To them, as to almost

all the rest, bed hangings were to be given "from my goods," but for the maids they were to be "good strong ones." Possibly these hangings may have been the result of what seems to have been Doña Luisa's one relaxation, sewing with her ladies, while some edifying work was read aloud. Her great object was that idleness should have no place in her home, and her women were always occupied either in praying in the Oratory, in working together, or other duties; thus her house "seemed a cloister," writes her earliest biographer, who also adds that "ladies (damas) who behave as they ought should not be like the queens (damas) in chess, who cross everything and go up and down, and right and left, at all hands and by all roads; they should rather be like another royal chessman who only moves within very restricted limits, and by certain laws prescribed by the rules of the game."

Most solicitous about the religious welfare of her servants, and good to them when ill, she seems to have been a severe as well as a kind mistress, liking to have her maidens under her own eye, allowing no flirting with pages, or smart clothes or cosmetics, and very particular as regards the neatness of their appearance, saying that if they were not clean and tidy for themselves, they would not be so for their mistresses. This model housewife also often

inspected their chambers, and at night, after they had retired to rest, she made a round of their rooms to ascertain that they were in bed and behaving as "good and fervent Christians." Possibly the servants may have wished that so much vigilance did not come within "the rules of the game."

No account of Doña Luisa's life would in any way be complete without a reference to what were the two mainsprings of it, namely her piety and charity.

In order to be able to exercise the first without hindrance, she caused a gallery to be constructed between the palace and the church of Pedrola, supported on brick pillars, by which she could pass at all hours to her devotions. In this gallery were placed the Stations of the Cross and it ended in a staircase which led into the low pew, of which Father Francis had written.

Along this passage the "holy Duchess" was wont to steal in the grey dawn, and remaining in her pew until it was dark, would order a servant to come and warn her of the hour, and bring lights to enable her to read the concluding offices, before returning to the palace. The aforesaid pew was paved and Luisa knelt on the cold stones until her knees became not only hard, but afflicted with most painful lumps; probably the ailment that now would be called "housemaid's knee."

The prayers she herself composed for morning and evening use are very long, especially the evening one which she recited after Vespers were ended, of which the following is a sample.

“Remember, O Lord, Thy slave and servant Luisa, whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy Blood. Thou hast given me a husband of equal rank and convenient estates, handsome in person, and of superior intelligence. Children Thou hast bestowed, the fruits of Thy mercy and open hand ; keep them that in Thy love and fear they may grow into all I wish, and thus please Thee. I sorrow to have sinned against so good a God, Whom I love with all my heart above all things, for being what Thou art ; I desire to improve, I repent of what I have done. Take away, O Gracious Father, all my faults and sins and those of my husband and children, teach them and strengthen them in Thy Grace ; confirm my household and vassals in Thy Service, that they and I, purified in soul, mind, body, and heart, may be made deserving of worthily receiving Thy eternal benefits.”

These prayers, says her biographer, give a picture of her frame of mind more perfect than the description of a series of facts. Her first act on waking was to commend herself to Divine Protection in the following words : “As Thou hast brought me to the beginning of the day, keep me by Thy Virtue, that in it I may incline

to no sin or stumble or fall ; but that in all my thoughts, words, and works I may walk according to Thy judgments."

Not content with humbling her body by fasting, she cruelly mortified it by discipline. Mention has been made of signs of this being visible in her "pew" for more than a hundred years after she had ceased to kneel there. After her death many instruments for the punishment of what she thought "grave sins though they were really but slight carelessnesses" were discovered. In a little casket, whose key she would never confide to anyone, but which was accidentally left behind at Pedrola the last time she went to Saragossa, were found many of these, some of knotted leather, some of iron chains, some of spikes of silver, all covered with gore. In fact when they came to perform the last adorning, they saw she was wearing one of sharp pieces of tin, so embedded in the flesh that it was difficult to take it off. Her daughter Ana, who imitated her mother, was the heiress of these relics.

This is looking ahead, and Doña Luisa was not for a while to lay down her earthly burden. Meantime she was the busy housewife and the great lady who fulfilled her many obligations with tact and quiet dignity. Her charity was also boundless. She instructed the mayors and priests of the villages owned by Don Martin to

let her know of anyone in want, that they might be relieved. At the great feasts of the Church she gave special alms of wheat, or of bread made by her own hands, sending the crier round to tell the poor to come and fetch it ; to those who were ashamed to beg she went herself secretly, accompanied by one of her maidens. She raised fowls, made conserves and condiments, and prepared simples for the sick, whom she visited, not only in the hospital, but also in their own homes. When she went to see the lowly she laid aside the sumptuous garments she usually wore, and arrayed herself in plain and simple ones, that she might " not appear rich among the poor." When she escorted the Viaticum she went barefooted and without gloves. On the Thursday in Holy Week she washed and kissed the feet of twelve poor persons, afterwards waiting on them at dinner, and giving them a complete suit of new clothes. These favoured ones had first to produce certificates that they went to confession and were communicants.

At the hospital at Pedrola she had a separate quarter reserved for priests, with special white linen for their use, and she also provided a house where they could be taken in. She further gave help to the prisoners in Saragossa and to the sick and poor, not forgetting the waifs and strays of that city.

Many of her works of mercy were kept a

complete secret, even from her secretaries. One of her favourite charities was providing the necessary money for poor girls who had a vocation to enter convents, who never knew to whom they owed the fulfilment of their wishes. There is a letter about one maiden of noble birth, who was to enter the Convent of St. Clara in Saragossa, and it ends by saying that although the girl would never know who her benefactress was, the writer was sure "that she would like to ask God to bless you for what you have done ; and He from whom nothing is hid, will give you His Grace and Love for this and other alms of your ladyship."

Doña Luisa's charity did not stop with gifts. There is a story told of a woman who had been exiled from a town by its mayor for her evil way of living, who wished to come to Pedrola and turn over a new leaf. The mayor of Pedrola, having fears about this, first consulted Doña Luisa, who decided it was wrong to drive the woman to despair, and that therefore she should be admitted, in the hopes that she would repent. The woman was so pleased at this treatment that she lived and died a reformed character.

CHAPTER XI

DON MARTIN came back to Pedrola amid the acclamations of the inhabitants. "His return deserves the name of a triumph," writes Padre Norell. "When he left he was engaged in a lawsuit against the Crown, he came back not only at peace with his King but decorated by him and admitted among the number of his most intimate and favoured friends; formerly unknown to foreign princes, to-day admired by them as a brave soldier, a generous man and a lover of the fine arts." Doña Luisa had prepared a great welcome for the home-coming of her lord. No details are given except that it was "public and ostentatious," and that no expense was spared. She also had the day marked by special almsgiving among the poor of Pedrola.

Don Martin had much to see after such a protracted absence; first of all his youngest daughter Inez, who had been born a few days after he had set out, and who was therefore now a little girl of five. The other children, too, would have altered beyond recognition. Doña Luisa herself was well; but he was distressed

to find her looking so worn and pale, really the result of her austerities, though his kind heart put it all down to the cares and worries which had devolved upon her owing to his absence. She could give him a good account of her stewardship, and could point to the new granaries, built for the overflowing crops, where now were stored about 84,000 bushels of wheat and 36,000 of oats. Notwithstanding the money sent to the wars, everything else was in an equally flourishing condition, as Don Martin found when Doña Luisa insisted that, on a certain day, all the "receivers, administrators and officials of his property, as well as the governors, mayors and ministers of justice, should put their accounts in order" and appear before the Duke to have them passed and approved. So pleased was he that he did not wish to remove the management from the clever hands of his wife; but she told him that "God had made man, and not woman, head of the family," and that without real reason it was wrong to change the order arranged by the Creator; moreover, that she was not in good health, and would be glad of some leisure, after such "a flock of business" as had been hers during her husband's forced absence; but said that with his permission she would still continue to manage the household. These arguments the Duke could not gainsay, and he relieved her

of the heavy charge, for which he too felt no small repugnance.

The first days at Pedrola, however, were spent in receiving the visits of his friends and relations, who hastened to welcome him with such zeal that he hardly had a moment to call his own. But he did find time to bestow the presents he had brought with him. More lucky than his King, all his treasures had come safely home, while a storm which had sprung up on the first day out on the homeward voyage had robbed Philip of much of the collection of pictures and statues which the Emperor had formed in Italy.

Besides the painting that the nuns of St. Quentin had given him and the relics and Titian's present, the Duke had brought Doña Luisa a beautiful bas-relief of the Virgin and Child, exquisitely sculptured, which still is treasured at Pedrola.

Two painters came in the Duke's train from Flanders, Rolam de Mois, who painted most of the originals of the illustrations which adorn this book, and who was as famous for his portraits as the other, Paul Esquert, was for his historical paintings. This last had passed his youth in Venice under the protection of Titian, some of whose works he was allowed to copy in miniature, notably Poetry, still in the Royal Collection. The Duke had been so delighted



VILLAHERMOSA PALACE AT PEDROLA
From a water-colour drawing by V. Cardenera

with the way that Esquert had done this that he had ordered the painting to be made for himself life size with others of the artist's own invention. It is said that these copies, though far inferior to the originals, were excellent; the painter as a Fleming "always had the light touch and very pretty."¹ This cheerful artist lived for ten years in Saragossa, and executed many works for which he was well paid, but being of too gay and festive a nature, much addicted to playing the lute, grandeur, and fine clothes, he left his family in poor circumstances. Not one of his pictures is known to exist now.

"The marvellous portrait painter" Rolam de Mois was commissioned by the Duke "to make pictures of the ancestors taken from very ancient originals, poorly painted and badly drawn, which he converted into something more modern, so well, and without departing from the likenesses, that they seemed taken from life." "At that time every one of note was painted by him, particularly ladies, because he made such good likenesses, almost without shadows and very graceful, in which he much imitated Titian."² He did not condescend to portray ordinary people, thinking it was a waste of time to do so, and he never would paint a man,

¹ "Discursos practicables," Jusepe Martinez, painter to Philip IV.

² *Idem.*

however great a personage, except in his own house. Out of politeness he used to paint ladies at their homes. "He lived like a gentleman, and always had a horse in his stable, and his house in Saragossa was on the scale his talent deserved." He left "a fine bit of property" as a dower to his only daughter, who was married to a person of consequence. He has left no less than ten family pictures, which (as family papers prove) after having been for a time in the Monastery of Veruela are now in the Villahermosa Palace in Madrid. The only sacred pictures known to be by him are those of the altar-piece in a Convent at Tafalla in Navarre.¹

It will be remembered that on his departure Don Martin had confided the lawsuit to his mother, Doña Ana, and also that Antonio Perez wrote to her on the subject, after Don Martin had left England. It would seem, however, that some at least of the business had fallen on Doña Luisa's shoulders, or, at any rate, that she was very conversant with the matter. These lawsuits had all been settled except one, which was in the future to be the source of much trouble, and which personally concerned her, as the barony of Figuerolas had been purchased with her fortune. The suit was brought by Don Francis de Arino, who asserted that owing

¹ I am indebted to Don Elias Tormo for this information.

to an entail the barony could not legally be sold and that therefore he lawfully succeeded to it. Judgment had been given twice in favour of the Duke, who was to appreciate the truth of the gypsy's curse, "May you have a lawsuit and win it." The other side had appealed and Doña Luisa had earnestly begged her husband to compromise; but this he stubbornly refused to do, and possibly also did not give the matter the attention it demanded. It was not settled during Doña Luisa's lifetime, and when at last the case was lost, perhaps it is not wonderful that he should have fancied that she had spoken prophetically, remembering how she had begged him to come to some arrangement. Don Martin had many reasons for venerating and admiring his wife.

Soon after his return it began to be whispered in Pedrola that he had not only brought home precious relics and art treasures and even living painters, but that in his train had come a mysterious page, who was lodging in the neighbouring village of Alcalá de Ebro. As the gossip grew, it finally came to the ears of Doña Luisa herself. She was quite the last person to give credit to idle rumours, so the news may have fitted in with her own observations. Traditions of this page still linger in the countryside, and the people say that Doña Luisa had the high barn raised an extra floor during a single night

to block out the view of the village from Don Martin's window. Very likely she may have surprised him gazing towards the dwelling of this disquieting stranger. Anyhow the barn remains, shutting off all view from that side, and Señor Melida thinks the magic of its building is all that the imagination of the country folk has added to the story.

Having ascertained that she had good grounds for her suspicions she awaited her opportunity. This came one day when she found herself alone with the Duke and his pseudo page. Then she told the page that her own obligations and the Duke's would no longer allow her to be silent, that she was well aware who the page was, "very fit to be one of my ladies but not my husband's"; that clothes had been prepared suitable to the page's sex and rank, but that it was impossible that the girl should remain at Pedrola for reasons she very well knew, though she should want for nothing, as from that day forward she should be at Doña Luisa's own charge, who would fulfil all the Duke's obligations as a gentleman and a Christian. She also said that she knew who the girl's relations were, and how bitterly they would feel her conduct, in fact that it was impossible for her to continue to bear her own family name, therefore, continued Doña Luisa, "Ours shall be yours in future, and you shall be called Doña Maria of Aragon."

The holy Duchess then went on to say, " My child, how do you think of spending the remainder of your life ? " bidding Doña Maria remember the scandal and the dishonour she had brought on her family and the wrong she had done to Doña Luisa herself, and the offence to God and the risk of eternal damnation for her own soul as well as the Duke's. " God knows that I speak to you in kindness, and that before speaking I made up my mind to help you all I could. I am not astonished at your weakness, and only feel pity for it as a fellow woman," went on the saintly soul, who probably had never willingly given way to even an evil thought in her life. She then told the page that the choice was open between retiring to a convent or an honourable marriage, and advised the former, though the path to either should be made smooth ; but the girl must not forget that she had been walking towards hell, and dragging after her a soul worth more than her own.

Then Doña Luisa turned to the Duke, who; it is not surprising to learn, had remained silent, as the interview must have been a most unpleasant one for him. " Forgive me, my lord and husband," she said, " for the liberty I have taken, but it was God who gave it to me," and she proceeded to show him how wrongly he had acted, and that it was his duty to co-operate with her in saving the poor woman and in

putting an end to the scandal, which was as discreditable to his name as it was to his family. "Nobody," she said, "could speak to him out of greater love or with such interest in his good name and still much more in his eternal salvation." That she spoke from the bottom of her heart, but that she could not allow things against her conscience and against his, because, she ended, "God, who should be put before all things, does not wish me to allow them."

The Duke could keep silent no longer, and, confounded by the poignant words of his wife, he exclaimed, "If one would not give in to such righteous force, to whom would one yield?" "Yield yourself, my lord, to God," was Doña Luisa's pious answer, "over the offence to Whom I grieve."

Then calling a waiting maid she entrusted her to dress Doña Maria de Aragon, as she was in future to be called, who as soon as she had quitted her disguise returned and throwing herself at the feet of the compassionate Duchess begged her forgiveness with tears, and declared her desire to end her days in a convent. Very possibly the girl was thankful thus to end an adventure which she had begun in a moment of madness, having run away from an honourable home after having begun an intrigue with the Duke while he was in Flanders. Presumably,

therefore, she was a Flemish lady, but about this not a word is known.

There are two versions of this story, which vary slightly. One that the Duchess sought the page in private, and that it was her change of name and dress which showed the Duke his secret was discovered, and that he therefore avoided his wife until one day she found him alone, when she confronted him with the scandal. This, perhaps, sounds the more likely tale, though the one told here at length and the discourses of the holy Duchess are taken from her first biographer's account, who had copied them from that of her grandson, the Count of Guimerá.

The contrite girl entered a Convent of Dominicans in Saragossa, and so true was her repentance and amendment that when some of the most exemplary of the nuns were chosen to found a new community Sor Maria de Aragon was among the number. She died a few years later. She always maintained that she had never heard more zealous, fervent; and sweeter words than those which fell, on that day at Pedrola, from the lips of the holy Duchess, who seemed to her more like an angel from Heaven than an earthly woman.

Of Don Martin's feelings not a word has been recorded. Only in his will he desired that his heir should pay what was necessary in order that his illegitimate daughter, Doña Gabriela de

Aragon, might take the veil ; and he left her 240 gold pieces, and further charged his second wife to give this Gabriela an image for her cell.

She may have been the daughter of Don Martin's amours, which caused Doña Luisa so much sorrow in the first days of their marriage, or of some later intrigue ; but her age, which would be twenty or so when her father died, and the name of Aragon must favour the idea that Gabriela was the love child of the mysterious page.

CHAPTER XII

A DOCUMENT among the archives at Pedrola shows that a great compliment was paid to Don Martin the following spring. The new Pope, Pius IV, in a bull dated from Rome, April 30, 1560, notified his accession to the Chair of St. Peter to the Duke.

Another little daughter was born during this year, in which month is not known. This child received the name of Juana, probably after Doña Luisa's own mother, the Duchess of Gandia ; but it did not long survive.

Formerly it would appear that the family spent the summer at Pedrola and the winter in Saragossa, as is easily seen by the birthplaces of the numerous children. During her husband's absence Doña Luisa seems to have lived mostly at Pedrola, though, no doubt, journeys to the city were from time to time necessary ; but in this last year of her life the usual plan must have been varied, and they stayed during the hot weather in Saragossa. It was at the end of the summer when, like the Vicar of Wakefield, they were changing, if not from "the blue bed to the brown," at least from the summer to the

winter quarters in the Palace of Saragossa, which stood in the parish of St. Paul and in the Street of the Preachers "opposite the house of the widow of Peter Boneta," that the Duchess startled her household by saying in an emphatic way, "Be certain we shall not all again have to change back to the rooms we leave to-day."

These words must have sounded like a knell in her servant's ears, as for the past year they had been haunted by fears of her approaching death, and often discussed the subject among themselves ever since a certain time in the previous autumn, when, the house being at its quietest, therefore presumed either during the siesta or at night, a loud noise sounded through the Palace. Search was made everywhere and nothing discovered which could have caused it ; then it was decided that it must have come from the Oratory where the holy Duchess was at her devotions with the door locked. Trembling they went and knocked, thinking some misfortune had befallen her ; but she opened the door with a smile on her face, asking them to leave her as she had not finished her prayers ; but from this time they noticed that she acted as if her pilgrimage were nearly over, being more retiring than ever, and taking no more part in worldly matters than was absolutely necessary.

It is rather difficult to understand this story, unless the real truth was that Doña Luisa had some kind of seizure, from which she never completely recovered.

Nor were the forebodings of the household groundless ; for a few days later the Duchess fell ill. Although those around her did not believe the case to be serious, she herself knew that her end was near, and at once began to set her house in order by adding to the will she had made six years previously, just before Don Martin started for England.

She begged her doctors not to fail to warn her and not to wait until too late, so that she might receive the last Sacraments. This they did as she rapidly got worse, and she received the Viaticum with fervour and piety.

The Duke then craved her forgiveness for all the anxieties he had caused her ; she readily granted this, and then he begged her to bless him and the children, who came to kiss their mother's hand for the last time and obtain her parting benediction. She gave it them with great love and tenderness, and then asked to be left alone, to prepare quietly for her last journey. Thinking that she was unobserved, she gave vent to communings with her Lord, and while kissing a crucifix and commending her soul, quietly passed away on October 4, 1560.

The notary Juan de Piedrahita, presumedly

the father of the Casilda to whom was to descend one of the Duchess's own velvet gowns, certified that in an anteroom of an apartment which looked on the river Ebro, in the presence of the Steward "the esteemed James de Alcanez" and of the "Illustrious lord Don John" her eldest son, the body of the Duchess was placed on a little bed and arrayed in its shroud, and the witnesses declared that it was indeed the corpse of the wife of their master whom they had served for many years.

When the bells of the city made the sad news known, it was difficult to protect the corpse from the crowd of people of all sorts and conditions, who wished to gaze on her beloved form once more. Over her winding sheet they placed, as she had wished, the Cross of St. Dominic, embroidered in black and white silk, and the girdle of St. Francis and St. Augustin, and covered her peaceful features with a white veil. Then they placed her in a coffin lined with black velvet, with a yellow Cross on the cover. The coffin was then locked.

Don Martin was a man who appears never to have done anything himself when there was anyone at hand to do it for him; as he allowed his son to be present at the identification of the corpse, so now he let all the arrangements for the funeral devolve on his mother Doña Ana, who cannot at this time have been a very young

woman. The only thing she left him to do was to invite the relations and others who were to take part in the ceremony, which she had decided was to be conducted with the same pomp as that of her husband Don Alonso Felipe. She therefore set out a day beforehand to Pedrola, to prepare what was necessary for the ceremony there.

It was a long procession of monks, and all the nobility of the city, accompanied by music, that escorted the coffin through the thronged streets to the Church of Our Lady of the Little Gateway, which lay nearest to the gate which led to Pedrola. After having to fight their way through the streets the procession could hardly enter the great Church, which was packed with people, anxious to pay a last token of respect to the holy Duchess. The coffin was placed on a catafalque, covered with a pall and illuminated by torches and other lights. After mass, and a sermon on her merits, the procession filed out as it had entered ; and then the crowd could come and gaze, after the manner of crowds in all ages. Before the next day dawned, another procession set out to convey the honoured corpse to its final resting-place, consisting of monks and clergy, riding and carrying lighted torches, slowly singing penitential psalms. A coach followed the monks, hung with a pall, with a white Cross on the back and drawn by four white

horses with black cloths ; inside the coach was the coffin, and inside, too, at the doors sat two " venerable duennas " (no doubt the Medi-nillas). Immediately behind this vehicle came the sons, wearing black hoods, then the relations, then noble friends and finally the servants of the family, in mourning, with lights in their hands.

Crowds lined the road as they passed through the villages. It was already twilight when they gained Pedrola. Here they were met by the Duke's officials and by neighbours, amid the tolling of bells. The coffin rested that night in the Church of St. Sebastian, where it was watched and " wept over specially by the poor," whose sorrow was genuine, as Doña Ana had arranged that they should not suffer materially by their loss. On October 7 another procession was formed in the same order as the previous day, every one wearing mourning cloaks and hoods. They came from the Duke's palace to the Church, and from there the coffin was borne on men's shoulders to the parish Church with much solemn music and chanting and a profusion of lights. The Church was all hung with black, with many escutcheons of the Duke and the late Duchess ; and here, once more, the coffin was placed on a catafalque. Doña Ana witnessed the ceremony from the pew where Doña Luisa had so often worshipped.

After another mass and oration the burying was finally concluded, on the gospel side, and the fact is noted in the register of the year 1560. "Item, on the 7th of October was buried the body of the very illustrious lady the Duchess of Villahermosa, Countess of Ribagorza." "called Donia Luissa de Aragon y de Borja." The Duke was evidently not present at the obsequies. He was named one of the executors of the will, together with two specified priests and "Father Francis de Borja, my brother," who was begged to undertake this task "to do me a favour."

She left all her goods and estates to her children. At the time the will was made the eldest girl was but seven years old, yet her mother "wishes, orders and leaves that Doña Ana of Aragon, my daughter, should enter religion" "as I have prayed and hope she will," with a provision of 22,000 gold pieces as a fortune for this purpose.

The dead hand was powerless, however, in this, as Doña Ana was the only one of the three daughters to marry; the other two did take the veil.

Doña Luisa directed her executors to scrupulously fulfil any obligations and to pay all her debts. Her gifts to churches were numerous, not forgetting some in Andalucia, where so many years of her girlhood had been spent. "Item,

as I promised two chalices to Brother Domingo Valssanas, for the two monasteries he is building, and I have already given him one, I order and leave that from my goods shall be taken twenty-five ducats to be made into a silver-gilt chalice to be sent to Seville to Our Lady of Grace, because there they will know to what monastery Brother Domingo Valssanas gave the other." She left money to the parish church of San Lucar, and seven yards of crimson satin to Our Lady of Virtues at Conil, and to the shrine at Guadeloupe "a white brocade gown."

On the Convent of Preachers was conferred "a half high murray bodice" and to the Church of Pedrola a brocade bodice "very little trimmed" and a crimson velvet gown; also sufficient yards of black velvet to make a complete set of vestments.

In a codicil which was made a week before she died she left the various gifts to servants already quoted, and all her jewels and furniture to her eldest son.

The fame of the sanctity of the "holy Duchess" did not grow less as years went by, and various are the miracles said to have been wrought by her intervention. They are duly set out with all the naïveté of pictures in some chapel of votive offerings. One deserves to be noted—that of the shepherd aged twenty-seven, John Martinez, who had all his teeth knocked



Photographed by Lauriat
DOÑA ANA DE ARAGÓN Y BORJA, AGED 14
From her portrait by Roland de Mois in the Villahermosa Palace, Madrid

out by a blow, and who came "simply to God and said 'Lord! What shall I a shepherd do if I cannot eat a bit of hard, dry bread? and I have no other means of livelihood,' " and by the intercession of the Duchess it is told that his "teeth grew again at that age." So her grandson the Count of Guimerá, who from an accident used to see motes swimming before his eyes, found himself cured when he began to write that history of his ancestress, to which most of the details about her are due.

Those who saw the remains from time to time in the succeeding ages testify to their wonderful preservation, so that her features could be recognized more than a hundred years after her death. The faithful Elvira de Medinilla, who wished to satisfy herself that what was said of her beloved mistress was true, noted that when the tomb was opened there was a sweet smell which clung all day to the duenna's clothes "like a perfume," which would seem as if the holy Duchess had been embalmed, possibly without her servant's knowledge. The remains have been moved twice; and when they were last visited in 1890 were still curiously well preserved, even the skin of the face being slightly coloured. There is a grizzly story that at the time of the Peninsular war, some French soldiers, hearing the tale of the incorruptible Duchess, disinterred the body and placed it on

its feet, saying "If you are a saint, stand up," and that when the corpse fell it remained intact.

Little remains of the Church of Pedrola as Doña Luisa knew it, as it was much altered in the eighteenth century ;¹ nevertheless, some of the work arranged by Don Alonso Felipe and completed by his son survives, though the statues of the Count and his three wives, which he had destined for a monument, are now in the gardens of the Villahermosa palace. The crucifix said to have been brought by him from Flanders still remains, and the narrow pew with its rough iron bars, through which the holy Duchess must so often have gazed at it. It is, however, perhaps, says Señor Melida, in pacing the long gallery, with its whitewashed walls and floor and tiny windows, which scarcely light it, that her shade seems most to linger.

As Father Francis, who in his lifetime became Captain General of the Jesuits, and was canonized as St. Francis de Borgia, is recollected at Gandia as the holy Duke, so his sister is still remembered at Pedrola as the holy Duchess.

¹ In the diary of Duke Juan Pablo is the following entry under August 1, 1788 : "The body of the Venerable Luisa de Borja, Duchess of Villahermosa, wife of Duke Don Martin and sister of St. Francis de Borja, who died in the odour of sanctity and is incorrupted, was translated to the place prepared for it, near the pulpit in the chancel."

CHAPTER XIII

THUS at the age of thirty-three Don Martin was left a widower with six children, whose ages varied from six to seventeen. Besides the care of a family, about which, no doubt, his mother and the devoted Doña Elvira¹ helped him much, he had other anxieties and fears resulting from the lawsuit. His troubles came rather from the spirit of the age and the policy of Philip II than from any fault of his own ; but he remained calm through his worries, seeking consolation and distraction in reading history and his lifelong friends the classics ; also in adding to and arranging his collections, and in corresponding about them with antiquarians of his day, such as the Archbishop of Lerida and Cardinal Granvelle.

Inscribing letters and reading, however, were not his only occupations. He also found time to write several works, which were none of them printed ; and at his death the manuscripts, after remaining a while with his collections at Pedrola, passed into the hands of strangers, so that only two intact and a part of another are in the

¹ Doña Juana had married.

National Library at Madrid. His writings appear originally to have numbered about ten, counting a volume of poetry and one or two of correspondence. One letter, written in 1563, was a "very instructive and pious epistle," exhorting the parish priests of his estates where there were newly converted Moors to teach them and ground them in the Christian doctrine. The rest treat chiefly of either coins, or his own family history ; one volume principally devoted to papers on antiquities his chronicler Andres of Saragossa notes as being "a manuscript of great merit and very curious."

On the 1st of September succeeding his wife's death, the deputies of the Kingdom wrote to him to return those annals of Zurita which he had seen, to add to the others which were to be given to Doña Luisa's aged uncle, Don Fernando, who was still Archbishop of Saragossa, for him to look through, so that there should be no difference in his copy.

Of the two works still extant, Don Martin's "Discourses," which have already been quoted several times, are undoubtedly the better. The copy is made from the original by the Count de Guimerá, who swears that it is a true one of his grandfather's papers. "He wrote," continues the Count, "of Roman coins and antiquities which he had in his cabinet at Pedrola in a bureau and cupboard he kept on purpose for

them. The copy-book contains drawings of the statues and coins, for which purpose the blanks and spaces have been left, and by this is shown that his talent was even greater than his work, which was no small one; he could, without neglecting his business, employ his time in this way, which is of so much merit and which required so much labour and study and a great variety of reading." On the back is painted Don Martin's device.

Another work of his, "Conversations of the virtues and statues with the gods," was more or less a work of the imagination. It is copied by the same hand as the "Discourses," and its wrapper of parchment bears a quaint notice.¹

The "Discourses" have been arranged with the greatest care by Señor de Melida; and though the original collection of coins no longer exists, he has been at the pains of verifying those mentioned, and has placed a drawing of nearly every one at the top of each Discourse, according to the original intention of its author. The Discourses are in fact a "catalogue raisonné" of the antiquities possessed by the Duke of Villahermosa, who thus began to justify his

¹ "This book was given to me by John de Louvera, gilder and quilter, principal Alguacil of the estates of the Count of Aranda; he graciously gave it to me on May 15, 1551; in return I gave him, to the value of 100 reals, in pearl coloured silk stockings, a purse of silk and gold, two books of prints and some loose papers."

title of "Philosopher of Aragon," by interesting himself in this pursuit, heedless of the storms which were gathering around him.

Of Don Martin's works Señor Melida writes thus, "Considered from a scientific point of view we shall see that the propositions and criticisms are absolutely in conformity with the antiquarian studies of the humanists and archæologists of the time, the coins are not classified, as the study of numismatics was unknown ; he interprets his types rather as a means of showing the religion, customs, and memorable deeds of the Greeks and Romans, which he observes shrewdly, and at times brings subtle arguments to bear. He makes no distinction between medals and coins, declaring his belief that coins were struck in memory of certain deeds," and further on "it would be absurd to expect in Don Martin that which we should seek for in vain among his learned contemporaries, to whom no doubt we owe the study of archæology. All the same, in the Discourses of Don Martin we see the antiquarian and the numismatist, in the information that a sure sign of a coin being old is its patine, which he thinks is not the effect of time but a precaution of the ancients for its preservation." And again, "He is very anxious to establish the chronology, or rather the ages, of ancient things. He treats of Roman triumphs, temples, priests, tripods, crowns, and symbols of the ancients ;

and in tracing these as notes for the work which was later to receive a definite shape, he announces his intention of omitting nothing which may interest . . . The figure of Don Martin rises from these pages with all the characteristics of one who was a lover of archæology, who, like Cosimo de' Medici, consecrates his power and intelligence to the study of antiques. Don Martin and his greatest friend the Bishop of Lerida, whom he considered cleverer than anyone else in these matters, are the two great figures of Spanish archæology in the sixteenth century."

Don Martin says that, "It will be well to begin with the coins of Augustus, thus, not only keeping the order of the alphabet," but, as "it is right to commence by the most renowned prince of the empire," so here shall be given the Discourse which seems the best to take as an example, as it is impossible in the limited space of these pages to do more than touch on the rest.

"15. The other medal shows on the reverse side the magnificent temple which Augustus consecrated, in memory of his uncle Julius, to Venus Genetrix, under which name the goddess was worshipped by that people; on it is the unfinished Venus which his uncle Julius caused to be commenced by the great sculptor Arquesilao; but who could not finish it, as Cæsar

was in such a hurry to dedicate the statue which he placed either in the Forum or in his own house. Pliny relates in the 26th book of his Natural History that Cæsar had the bulk or body of the statue, which was of medium size, made of a single pearl which he had brought from the conquest of England ; the rest of the statue was of ivory ; this then Augustus placed in the temple, which was built square, as our medal shows, with the inscription above, which we do not put, as it is evident. I noted one thing very much ; being in England the year I read this, I inquired of all those lords and other private persons, whether pearls were fished up from the abundant oysters of those seas, and they told me never, except, as in our waters, occasionally some baroque ones, by which we see how nature varies in its effects in different places ; if we are to believe what is written, this big one and Cleopatra's fine one were prodigies. In our day strange pearls have been seen, one for size and beauty and lustre that I saw, the beautiful one called ' the orphan ' that King John of Portugal gave to the Very Serene Princess Juana, his daughter-in-law (God rest her soul), which her Highness showed to me : it was very white, very lustrous, and very round, the size of a pigeon's egg ; and for its beauty and rarity, and having no pair, was called ' the orphan ' ; the other I saw belonged to the great Hernando

Cortes, the glory of our Spain, conqueror of the new hemisphere, which was the size of a common powder flask for an arquebus, very white and even, all of one face, and was set in gold in a flask ; this the sea of Algiers swallowed up in the great storm of 1541, with those other remarkable jewels, the little lamp, the little bell, and the little font of emerald ; the chief jewels of Montezuma. I have put this down here because in our time we have seen things that those after us may have reason to doubt, as we doubt the ancients."

One curious tradition he mentions in order to disprove it ; namely, that the thirty pieces of silver "with which Christ Our Lord was sold were Rhodian coins, with the face of the sun crowned with rays, and on the reverse a flower, which antiquarians think is a poppy, because it follows the sun, like the flowers we commonly call sun flowers."

Don Martin is terribly afraid of boring his readers, and in order to make his writings less dry, as he says, plunges into a long treatise on Roman triumphs, in which he shows his knowledge of the topography of the eternal city. He says that the procession was headed by men to clear the way, who were arrayed in cloth of gold and purple : "this purple was a wonderful thing to see for the diversity and rare beauty of its texture ; and, from what is told of Baby-

lonian art, it may be supposed that purple was what is to-day called crimson, or violet velvet, worked in various colours, added to a profusion of jewels and pearls."

That he was strictly orthodox in religious matters the ensuing lines prove; as he says, writing of the fact that one of the chief duties of the Pontifex Maximus was to see that no innovations or new ceremonials entered Rome, "this the devil desired, to uphold his service and ceremonies, and to-day in this way, as of old, he wished to put new ideas into the hearts of men and thus make them abhor the sacred service and holy ceremonies, full of Divine Spirit." Yet the following is curious from so devout a son of the Church, Roman and Apostolic. Having said that the Pontifex Maximus was also Emperor, he goes on, "this should not be among Christians, as we are told in the Holy Gospel by St. Luke to give God what is His, and Cæsar what is his, keeping persons dedicated to the service of God separate from those who are versed in secular and public government."

Thus he rambles on of ancient history, coins and cities, from time to time throwing into the brew a spice of his own recollections, as when he states that once on a journey St. Elmo's fire played about his sword and his horse's ears during a great storm; or that Charles V

“Maximo Our Lord” did not like statues to be more than life size.

The “Discourses” are the cultivated gossip of a great gentleman who has dabbled in learning, seen the world, and known every one worth knowing in his day. The idea of writing them was given him by a book on coins printed by a native of Lyons, one Guillaume Choul, in 1556, and subsequently translated into German, Italian and Spanish, as he himself narrates and continues “I have also determined to put all my statues of marble and bronze and their interpretations, not as in the book, keeping ABC order, as I think of doing with any coin I add, for greater clearness.” The notes on antiquities are moreover much shorter.

He states that the statue of Pan was sent him by Cardinal Granvelle from Rome; that the bronze bull was found on a mountain near Villahermosa by a labourer ploughing his land; that a Venus had come to him from his grandfather, the Duke of Luna, who, as he had already said, “was a great lover of these things more than was usual in his times.”

Quite equal to the original, he notes, was the copy made by the “excellent sculptor Juan Baptista (Bonanome)” of the statue of Julius Cæsar sent by the Pope Pius IV to Philip II.

Don Martin seems to have had the true “flair” of a collector and triumphantly tells

the story of a certain statue of Hadrian. "I found it as I was passing Tarragona, a Vicar General had it, who had found it in a certain ruin, and was keeping it to send to his master the Cardinal of Oria, then Archbishop of that town, who at that time died"; so Don Martin acquired the treasure, and sent for it; but "my servant was so barbarous, that to lighten the weight he divided it and, not content with this, he had it re-polished."

The same Discourse contains, perhaps, the only bitter words in the books, "This Prince (Hadrian) was so fond of Antinous that he deified him at his death, and consecrated temples in conformity with his vanity. In our time they (favourites) deify themselves, and make the subjects of their princes adore and serve them, as we often see." It would be interesting to know what particular courtier was in the Duke's mind as he wrote.

Room must be found for the story of Hadrian's celebrated bridge across the Tagus at Alcántara, built in A.D. 105 and still one of the glories of the peninsula. When his great grandfather the 1st Duke of Villahermosa was commanding his brother Don Hernando's troops against the King of Portugal, who had come with an army to support his claim to the throne of Castille, through his wife Maria (Juana?) the Excellent, the Duke thought to stop them by

destroying the bridge, but the King sent to say that he would rather go round than that it should be harmed, as he did not "desire the Kingdom of Castille without this edifice." Only five stones had been taken away, and these cost three million maravedis to replace, so the story goes. "By this it will be known what the edifice is," remarks Don Martin.

It was not only on paper that he gossiped about his collection. Cardinal Granvelle came to stay with him on his way to Madrid, and it is easy to imagine how the two worthies must have laid their heads together over their common hobby. The Bishop of Lerida, perhaps, also visited him, as Don Martin says that he would not trust his own opinion about a vase that had been dug up in Corunna, and given him by his uncle, until this connoisseur had confirmed his ideas.

Padre Coloma says that Don Martin hoped to entertain Don John of Austria; but was forestalled in this honour by the aged Archbishop of Saragossa, and could only send all the sick prince required, including two doctors. The question whether a still more celebrated guest came to Pedrola must be left to another chapter. Meanwhile it should not be overlooked that Don Martin married again.

This step he took only after consulting the opinion of "grave and spiritual persons," which

does not suggest much romance. The lady's name was Doña Maria de Pomar, eldest daughter of Don Sancho, Lord of Stigues and other baronies, and Doña Catalina Cerdan his wife. The bride brought a fortune in money, jewels, and effects, of 12,000 golden ducats, equal to 74,000 gold pieces of Aragon ; and there is a curious account of her trousseau and belongings in the Villahermosa archives. The Duke settled 136,000 gold pieces of Aragon on her.

The wedding took place in Saragossa on July 30, 1568.

The only daughter of this marriage was Doña Juliana, who in 1586 married her third cousin Don John of Aragon, Lord of Ballobar and Casetas ; but left no children.

CHAPTER XIV

IT cannot be said with certainty that Cervantes visited the Duke of Villahermosa at Pedrola, but the probability is too great for the subject to be ignored here, or the reasons for such a surmise not to be mentioned.

In 1905 the tercentenary of the writing of Don Quixote was celebrated in Saragossa, under the auspices of the then head of the house of Villahermosa, by whose direction the papers read on that occasion were collected in an "Album Cervantino Aragones," which has principally served as the source from which the following statements have been taken.

It appears that the study of the itinerary of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza after they left the enchanted boat and journeyed along the western bank of the Ebro, can lead to no other conclusion than that Pedrola, or Bonavia, was the original of the palace of the Duke and Duchess from which Sancho sallied forth to take possession of his island, which has been identified with Alcalá de Ebro, the village, it will be remembered, where the pseudo page was hidden by Don Martin.

In the edition of *Don Quixote*, published by the French house of Garnier in 1902, according to the latest corrections of the Academy of Spain, will be found in a footnote on page 535, that Señor Pellicer "conjectures that Cervantes pointed in these events to Don Carlos de Borja and Doña Maria de Aragon, Duke and Duchess of Villahermosa, and that the castle or country house, theatre of so many adventures, was the country house of Bonavia, built by Don John of Aragon, cousin of the Catholic King, which was close to the town of Pedrola, where the Duke and Duchess usually lived, and of which they were lords."

The Duchess named was Don Martin's granddaughter and heiress. Señor Pellicer no doubt selected them, as they were the owners at the time the second part of *Don Quixote* was written; moreover it may be argued that their wedding had taken place in 1610 in Madrid, where Cervantes then lived, and that the Argensolas, who did business for the Villahermosa family, also came to the capital in that year, probably for the marriage, and might easily have gossiped to Cervantes about their patrons, especially as one brother, Bartolome, wrote a sonnet to celebrate the beauty of the Duchess, and that five years later the second part of *Don Quixote* was published.

Señor Melida thinks it is absurd to imagine



STAIRCASE OF THE VILLAHERMOSA PALACE AT PEDROLA
From a water-colour drawing by V. Carderera

that Cervantes, after printing the first part in 1604, should have waited six years before continuing the story ; moreover, evil days had fallen on Aragon, and the family of Villahermosa was shorn of much of its former splendour. He continues that Pellicer's ideas were entertained by Clemencin only as a conjecture, but that Señor Ochoa and other commentators on Don Quixote accept the theory which, in the minds of the public, has grown into a certainty. Señor Melida himself calls it a conjecture with aspects of certainty. Was Don Martin the original of the Duke ? Señor Melida thinks the figure is most probably a mixture of the various lords of Pedrola. Certainly the great love of hunting shown by the Duke of the story suggests the Duke of Luna rather than Don Martin. Very possibly Cervantes may have heard the story of his calm courage at the Catalonian hunt, which has been already alluded to, as " the pen of the author of Don Quixote and the brush of Velasquez drew from nature," says Señor Pano, " and all the writers seem to agree that Cervantes must have visited Aragon " ; some of his types could not have been invented, and it will be endeavoured to show that, almost certainly, he did visit that Kingdom, and very probably Pedrola.

The year in which Don Martin married again, 1568, the Pope Pius V sent a Legate to Madrid

ostensibly to offer Philip II condolences on the death of his son, the unfortunate Don Carlos, but also to treat of secret matters connected with some ecclesiastical affairs relating to the Kingdom of Milan.

This Legate, a youth of little more than twenty, was the son of the Duke of Atri, Monsignor Guilio Aquaviva and Aragon, who, four years later, was to become a Cardinal, "a virtuous youth of much learning," he is called by Don Juan de Zuñiga, the ambassador in Rome. Monsignor Guilio and Cervantes seem to have made friends, which is not wonderful, as they were about the same age, and the light-hearted author of *Don Quixote* cannot but have been a delightful companion; so on his return to Italy the Legate took him in his train as page or servant, according to a common custom in those days. In like manner had the well-known Hurtado de Mendoza travelled in the suite of Cardinal Albornoz. The Mendoza who, if he was not the author of *Lazarillo de Tormes*, certainly was of a sonnet to one of Don Martin's sisters, the beautiful Doña Marina.

The Legate's embassy was not a great success. Philip would suffer no one to offer him condolences on the tragic death of his son, and was very tenacious of his rights in Italy, so the Monsignor was ill received, and on December 2 in the same year was given his passport for his return to

Italy, which still exists in the archives at Simancas, and ran as follows: "To Monsignor de Aquaviva who, in the past days came from Rome on a certain Embassy, returns thither, and takes five dozen pairs of gloves, perfumed with ambergris and flowers, a skin perfumed with ambergris, a dozen silk stockings and white linen, some fruit baskets and towels worked in gold, two candlesticks and a silver salver he brought from Rome, and other clothes and personal goods belonging to himself and his servants, and one thousand ducats of gold and silver, by way of Aragon and Valencia in seventy days."

The Legate had entertained much in Madrid, and had formed friendships with some of the courtiers with whom he liked to discuss "various questions of politics, science, learning and literature." Conversations, in short, after Don Martin's own heart, who, it must be remembered, was at that time "the most important lay personage in Aragon, and one of the most influential at the Court."

Did they make friends? And was the Legate's journey to Aragon for the purpose of visiting Pedrola and the Archbishop of Saragossa? It seems highly probable and even before Pellicer wrote at the end of the eighteenth century a book was printed in Alcalá in 1788, the work of Pedro Lopez, which says "Monsignor Aquaviva could go to Valencia by Aranguez and

then to Saragossa by a road for wheels, and then etc. . . . The itinerary by Valencia, Saragossa and Barcelona would be a month's journey." Therefore it is pointed out that two months remained to the cardinal to visit his relations in Aragon and Barcelona, although these places did not lie on the direct route from Madrid to Rome.

"Monsignor Aquaviva went to Aragon for a special reason, which we do not know, but which is not hard to guess. Cervantes went with him as a servant or page. Did they visit Pedrola? It is very probable. Were they at Saragossa? This is certain," says Señor de Pano. And he goes on to note that while Cervantes seemed to see Seville and Toledo peopled with water sellers and witches, Aragon, for him, was full of knights and princes, the medium through which it was seen in the author's youth, so that in his old age the name evoked for him nothing but visions of splendour and magnificence.

These facts being conceded, it seems highly probable that Don Martin was the original of the Duke, who is never laughed at in the story, and who, with his Duchess, invented the practical jokes which, to modern ears, sound nearly as ponderous as the cart wheels which took part in some of them.

The provision in Don Martin's will that Duchess Maria should look after his illegitimate

daughter, would rather point to her being an easy going woman who might well have entered into the spirit of the revels, but too little is told of her to draw any real conclusions. Señor Melida thinks that the character may also have been painted from a mixture of all the famous women of the family. It seems difficult, however, to find any traces of Doña Luisa in the merry, laughter-loving Duchess of the story.

Perhaps it is only an accident that Aldonza, the real name of the peerless Dulcinea, was a common one in the Villahermosa family, probably after the Rica Hembra's sister, whose tombstone says that she was the most beautiful woman of her day.

It is also thought by some that Blasco de Lanuza, who was the friend of Don Francis of Aragon, Duke of Villahermosa, stood as a model for the "pompous ecclesiastic" who figures in the twenty-first chapter of the second part of Don Quixote.

Lanuza was "a writer of merit," a theologian by profession, well versed in ecclesiastical studies, as well as in Latin and Spanish poetry and literature. If his writing is somewhat dry, his style is always clear and plain. "In a word," remarks Señor de Embun y Val, "Blasco de Lanuza unites all the qualities and literary aptitude which is revealed by the author who wrote the Quixote Avellaneda," the false

Quixote, which was such a source of annoyance to Cervantes. While laughing over the adventures of the knight, and the sallies of Sancho Panza, it must not be forgotten that the book was not only a satire on the old romances, but also on the literature of the period, moreover that it was written in a natural, colloquial manner, very different from the stilted and pedantic style then in vogue, and therefore it did not find favour with the "dry-as-dusts" of the time, who revenged themselves with the Don Quixote of Avellaneda; if this were really Blasco de Lanuza's nom de plume it would be sufficient reason to make him the butt of Cervantes' sarcasm. He had scores to pay off, as even in 1614, before the second part of the book was given to the world, at the rejoicing in Saragossa in connexion with the canonization of St. Theresa, the students of the University organized a cavalcade, and among the figures which attracted attention was a sort of car with a Don Quixote and his servant Sancho, who, among many jokes, presented some doggerel to the judges of the show, bearing the heading "The true second part of the ingenious Don Quixote de la Mancha composed by the Licentiate Aquestetes"; which is thought to prove that the false Quixote was popular in Saragossa. So no wonder Cervantes was angry.

He had himself won a first prize there for his

verses nineteen years earlier, when he sent some from Seville, in praise of St. Jacinto on the occasion of the festival of the canonization of that saint.

Señor Bremon says that the real Quixote was famous before it was printed, as before it was published it was mentioned in a work called "La Picara Justina,"¹ among a list of celebrated books, a fame no one has been able to explain satisfactorily unless the author had read it to people before publication.

Accepting that Pedrola and its inhabitants at the time Cervantes probably visited it are photographed on the pages of his immortal work, it is very diffidently suggested that perhaps Doña Elvira de Medinilla may be the prototype of the grumpy duenna. If Cervantes overheard any conversation between her and a servant like that he puts into the mouths of Doña Rodriguez and Sancho Panza, how his merry eyes must have twinkled!

Chateaubriand says, "Lisez, relisez, et si vous trouvez un livre meilleur, que dis-je meilleur? Seulement égal au Quixote, je consent volontiers à perdre toute mon autorité littéraire." If

¹ Mas famo que doña Oli,
Que *don Quijo* y Lazari
Que Alfarache y Celeste.

"Justina" was written by a Dominican, Andrés Perez, whose nom de plume was Licenciado Francisco Lopez de Ubeda.

anyone will follow this excellent advice and after having glanced over these pages, will read again the book which Lady Holland calls ¹ "the most amusing production of human wit," it is submitted that it will appear to them to be a continuation of the family life at Pedrola. Maybe this is only because the story was so true to life, but it seems equally, if not more, probable that it contains a picture of Don Martin of Aragon and his second wife.

¹ "Spanish Journal of Elizabeth." Lady Holland.

CHAPTER XV

THREE years before Don Martin himself married again the betrothal of his eldest son had taken place.

Like his father, he had sought for an alliance which would add both to the lustre and material prosperity of his house, and his choice had fallen on Doña Luisa Pacheco, an orphan, fifth daughter of the Duke of Escalona, whose wife was a relation of the Count of Chinchon, who as Treasurer of the Crown of Aragon to Philip II was a powerful friend at Court in matters relating to the lawsuit of Ribagorza.

The name of Luisa must have seemed a good omen, and the betrothal took place at Toledo on May 6, 1566, Don Martin being present. He undertook to bequeath to his son the Duchy of Villahermosa, the Baronies of Arenco and Val de Artana, besides his rights in the Marquisate of Cortes, and to give him at once the title of Count of Ribagorza. He gave the towns of Luna and Erla and the Barony of Artana to the young people, fixing an income of 5000 ducats and 1500 on the Countess for pin money, to be

increased to 2000 when they succeeded to the Dukedom.

The marriage did not take place until five years later. Curiously enough, this Doña Luisa was also older than her betrothed, but this time there were only five years between husband and wife. She was, therefore, thirty and Don John twenty-five when they married at Saragossa on May 18, 1569. They had probably waited for the Ribagorza lawsuit to be concluded, and this had been given in Don Martin's favour at the end of 1567, a few months, therefore, before his own second wedding. The young couple lived at Toledo for the first years of their married life.

It is curious that the two little boys who played and studied together in their childhood should have suffered their greatest sorrows through their eldest sons. King Philip can never have placed great hopes on poor, deformed, ill-conditioned Don Carlos, and his tragic end must have only been the terrible realization of a dreaded future; but Don Martin's case was very different. No hint is given that Don John was not everything his father could wish, and, to judge from his picture, he must have almost rivalled Don John of Austria himself in good looks and in the bravery of his attire, yet he was to make his father experience what Padre Coloma

calls "perhaps the most tragic disaster in all the history of the grandees."

The story of this tragedy is best told in Señor Melida's own words. "For about two years the young couple lived in Toledo, where their evil star showed itself, as here began the terrible drama which was to end the peace of both, and their lives; a drama which in all the details except the sad result is, even to-day, full of mystery, and its true causes unknowable, and it is left doubtful whether it was occasioned by cruel scandal, or by levity. Secret and written memorials furnish facts difficult to believe, such as the evil offices of a bad woman of Maqueda; secret visits and flirtations through the barred windows and around the walls of a Toledo convent; the wearing in public of the same colours and devices by gallant and lady; imprudent conduct at unusual hours of the night; and, at last, presumption and daring, deeds and words improper for a gentleman, as doubtless was the youthful Don Pedro de Silva, son of the noble Don Hernando de Silva. Certain it is, however, that owing to gossip, whether well founded or not, Don Hernando tried to surprise the suspected lovers without success, and that the Count, Don John, urged by the Marquis de Villena, brother of Doña Luisa, determined to go away and take his wife with him, probably

in order that the gossip should be silenced and forgotten."

The Count and Countess, therefore, set out on their journey, and it would appear that he was warned that among his pages was Don Pedro de Silva, who, thus disguised, followed the track of what constituted either his dream or his pastime, until, finding himself recognized, he retired. Too late had he brought his levity or folly to an end. The blindest and most violent of passions had been set alight in the soul of the young Count, who, letting himself be carried away by them, took the cruellest revenge on the person of his wife for her presumed wrong, as soon as they arrived at his house of Los Fayos.

With all the formalities of law and of conscience, he condemned her to death. During the night of August 28, 1571, the Countess, finding that it was to be her last, wrote some memorials on a sheet of paper, which she signed, also a few directions as to what was to be done with her goods and for her soul, as if it were a will written before a lawyer and witnesses, giving the document unsealed to her chaplain and confessor Mosen James Ferrer. She signed the seven memorials and sealed them with her arms, but their contents are unknown; probably they proclaimed her innocence, as it is known that she did so by word with all the vehemence



Photographed by Laurent
DON JUAN ALONSO DE ARAGÓN Y BORJA
From his portrait in the Villahermosa Palace, Madrid, by Roland de Mois

natural to such a supreme moment ; in spite of this, on the following morning the unfortunate Doña Luisa Pacheco lay dead. "As perhaps was desired," writes a modern author, the Marquis de Pidal, "the injury was not a secret nor was the vengeance, according to the gory and un-Christian ethics of those "Physicians of their Honour" which was so celebrated in our old dramas, faithful mirror of the passions and affections which were common to that Society."

If the luckless Don John acted on the impulse which inspired Calderon with some of the most realistic verses which have ever seen the light on the Spanish stage, he must, on recovering himself, have feared the vengeance of the relations of the victim, especially that of the Count de Chinchon, who had great influence with Philip II. He, therefore, fled from Spain to Italy desiring to reach Ferrara, whose Duke, Alfonso II, being a grandson of the famous Lucretia Borgia, was a relation. Don John was over confident, and for this fell into the power of his pursuers.

The news was broken to Don Martin by one of the holy Duchess's half brothers, Don Tomas de Borja, who in his childhood had served as an object-lesson for her when, in the Gandia nursery, she lectured a little sister on the duty of treating the priesthood with respect. Events

did not move very quickly in the 16th century, and the letter is dated from Rome nearly a year after the poor young Countess inscribed her last wishes.

“I have written so much to your lordship,” it said, “and given account of what happens here, that if they all reach you I well may grumble at receiving no answers, there are so many letters lost and those that arrive do so open, which is a great pity. I do not wish to be like the letters from Spain from where no letters come without bringing bad news ; what I can give your lordship to-day is nothing good, as by the inadvertance of the Lord Count, they have taken him in the State of Milan, going to Ferrara, a plan well carried out for these times. The Ambassador of the Duke of Savoy, knowing that he was coming, made great haste to get before him to the river ; thus they took him twenty miles before he reached the estate of the Duke. Blessed be Our Lord who thus ordered it. It is not possible for the guide he had to have been more stupid, as by turning aside for twenty leagues, coming by the heights of Savoy and going through Venetian territory, which borders Ferrara, he would have arrived safely without being caught.

“Finally, my lord, he was taken to the Castle of Milan, where he is now ; the news arrived here on the 20th instant. According to what I am told

the capture must have been on the 16th or 17th. He sent a post at once to the Knight Commander, and so by the time this arrives your lordship may already know the sad news. God grant us patience to be able to bear such sorrows. I kiss the hands of the Duchess, and those of my Lady Doña Ana and all those of my lords and ladies. I do not dare to ask your lordship to write me much, because I am fearful of bad news whenever letters come from Spain. God give me patience, and keep the very illustrious person of your lordship, as I, his greatest servant, desire."

The missive is signed by Don Martin's "most unfortunate brother."

Not a very sympathetic letter, but it seems as if the writer hardly knew how to broach the subject which was to bring such sorrow on his correspondent. It must have taken all Don Martin's philosophy not to be utterly crushed by such news. Worse, however, was to follow; for a few months later he must have heard that the King's orders, as set out in the ensuing document, had been carried out.

"The King

"Our Magistrate of Murcia or your lieutenant. Know that the Count of Ribagorza has been taken in Italy by our orders and other persons with him, I have commanded that the

nineteen should be brought to these realms and as it is understood that they come in certain Neapolitan galleys under the command of Don Alonso de Baxan, and as we have ordered that they shall pass Carthagená we send you this writing that they should be given over to you. I order you that when the said galleys arrive at the said city of Carthagená, you should present the writing to the person who has charge of the prisoners, and that he should give over to you the said Count and the other persons with him, and that you should take them with all necessary care and with the necessary guard, to the Marquisate of Villena, where you will make them over to our Governor in this Marquisate, or his lieutenant, who is ordered to receive them and what further he is to do. Given in Madrid — of March, 1573. I the King."

To continue Señor Melida's words, "The Marquisate of Villena, as we already know, belonged to the brother of Doña Luisa Pacheco. So that the Count, already in the hands of the avengers of his victim, was taken to the village of Torrejon de Velasco, near Madrid, condemned to death, and by the King's orders executed in the public square on November 6, 1573. His brother the Count of Luna gives the sad details. He also says that the unfortunate man declared his wife's innocence before he died. One of

Doña Luisa's sisters, Doña Maria Pacheco, before making her profession and entering the Royal Dominican Convent at Madrid in 1576, also proclaimed it.

A sad story, in which it is impossible to discover the truth, or how far justice was exceeded. The Marquis de Pidal and other historians have supposed that the enmity of the Count de Chinchon to the Villahermosas was the starting point of those troubles in Aragon which clouded the last years of Philip II. "Terrible must have been Don Martin's grief when he learned the miserable and ignominious end of his son."

Readers cannot fail to be struck by the resemblance of this story to the plot of Othello. The dying speech of the misguided Moor might well voice the last words of Don John.

I pray you, in your letters,
When you shall these unlucky deeds relate,
Speak of me as I am ; nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in malice : then must you speak
Of one that lov'd not wisely but too well ;
Of one not easily jealous, but, being wrought,
Perplexed in the extreme ; of one whose hand
Like the base Indian, threw a pearl away.

Othello, Act V, Scene 2.

CHAPTER XVI

DON MARTIN'S mother, Doña Ana Sarmiento de Ulloa, passed away on April 24, 1576.

As her will was made on the previous February 4 in Saragossa, where she died, she had probably been ill for some time, and she must have been an old woman, as she had married Don Alonso Felipe in 1514. It is curious how all the family died in the Saragossa palace and not at Pedrola.

Doña Ana desired that she should be buried by the side of her husband and that many prayers should be said for her soul. She left gifts to various convents, including the one at Valladolid, where one of her daughters was buried, the beautiful Doña Catalina, who had been one of Doña Juana's ladies. Doña Ana left Don Martin and a grandchild, Doña Ana de Aragón y Valtierra, as her heirs. She bequeathed 2000 golden ducats to her daughter-in-law, Don Martin's second wife.

No details are given of her funeral ; but as she evidently set much store on such solemnities being conducted with great pomp, and as it will

be remembered that in spite of his request for a simple burying her husband had the most imposing funeral seen up to then in Saragossa, and also that she made all arrangements in Pedrola for the obsequies of the holy Duchess, it is to be hoped that she went on her last journey attended by all the ceremony she would have wished.

Doña Ana was clearly a lady of greater parts than her singularly inexpressive countenance, as shown in her portrait, would suggest. It will be recollected that her son left the lawsuit in her hands when he went to England, and she always seems to have busied herself in the matter.

There is a letter from her to Don Martin on the subject in the family archives ; but being partly written in cipher it is not possible to read it all. Clearly it was written from the Court, probably from Madrid, as it mentions the Prado.

In the first part of the letter there is a reference to Philip's restlessness, and one to the unfortunate grandson, "from this I have it for certain that they will kill Don John or the Count as he is called here ; Everything is in a nice state !" This sounds as if Don Martin had dispatched her to work in the interest of the unhappy Don John at the Court, which he would not have done had he not had great respect for

her powers ; but as the letter is only dated June 16, it is impossible to say in what year it was written, though as she concludes by saying that she was not writing to Don John, it was probably during the sad summer of 1573.

As regards Ribagorza she says, " I am inclined to speak to Chinchon to-morrow and give him a memorial for the King, as I know the persons who advise me to do this do not lie to me, and they may know that the evil intention of those you are aware of will not leave the matter to go to the Ecclesiastical Court."

The letter ends, " Make them be on their guard in the house, and let me know if you receive my dispatches and the King's answer. I am out of my wits and sick of this business, which leaves me no peace. God guide it so that you may be satisfied. Those here are well. God keep yours yonder, to whom give my blessing as I do to you." The letter is signed " Your mother."

It seems strange that Doña Ana should have chosen the Count de Chinchon to present a petition to King Philip. The uncle of Doña Luisa Pacheco, whose influence and sympathy were such valuable assets at the time of the marriage to be used in the Ribagorza suit, could, while he naturally took his niece's part, be hardly expected to make matters smooth for the Villahermosas.



DOÑA ANA SARMIENTO DE ULLOA, COUNTESS OF RIBAGORZA
From her portrait in the Villahermosa Palace, Madrid, by Roland de Mois

The lawsuit, which at one time seemed happily settled, soon was renewed owing to the conduct of the inhabitants of Ribagorza ; but before beginning this subject it will be well to glance at an old manuscript still lying on the shelves of the National Library at Madrid, which contains the rules and regulations for an embassy to Rome entrusted to Don Martin, Don Hernando, who had become his heir, accompanying the mission as what now would be called "chief of the staff." As all the minute and curious details of the number of the suite, and how they were to live, is recorded, it is very tantalizing that, bearing no date, it is impossible to say definitely when it took place ; in fact, as there is no mention of it in the Villahermosa archives it seems almost probable that it remained a journey on paper only, scarcely less interesting, however, on this account for those who read about it.

If it did take place, it cannot have been until after the death of the luckless Don John in 1573, as until then his next brother would not have become Count of Ribagorza, "his eldest son and successor," who figures first on the list of the projected household that "the very illustrious Duke of Villahermosa " was to take to Rome.

History is silent on the subject ; nevertheless, it can be stated that the negotiations of Don

John of Austria with the Pope in 1575, or those of France with respect to its political and religious difficulties after 1576, or the differences with Rome at the time of the conquest of Portugal, rather later, are perhaps the only occasions on which Philip II would be likely to send an Embassy Extraordinary there. At least so thinks Señor Melida, and Don Martin was never the ambassador accredited to the Holy See.

It is surmised that Cardinal Granvelle, his great friend, obtained, or tried to obtain, the honour of representing his sovereign in Rome for Don Martin in order to reinstate him in Philip's good graces. Perhaps the King was willing enough, and Don Martin could not accept a favour from the hand that had wounded him. It is all as hazy as the details of the manuscripts are precise.

Besides Don Hernando the suite was to consist of four gentlemen, "two greater in age, authority, and estate, the two others who, although inferior in rank to the above, would be more useful in fulfilling certain duties on unusual occasions, and the two first shall be for the more important ones, and all four for the authority and ornament of the Duke and his embassy, and shall always accompany the Duke," also "a High Steward who might be one of the inferior gentlemen."

On the journey the Duke was to take a valet and two pages. There was also to be the usual lawyer, doctor, confessor, chaplain, etc. Four pages were to be "from here" and four sumpter mules, two for the litter, one for the bed and two chests, the other for the wine and food; and if necessary a fifth for the servants' luggage, two muleteers, who were to act as lackeys in the villages on the road. The "ordinary morning table," otherwise dinner, was to cost ten ducats a day; supper, which the Duke was to eat apart with his son and the lawyer, two ducats, which came to 4320 a year, and counting "some banquets and expenses which will have to be incurred during the year 5000 ducats." The thirteen gentlemen were to be paid forty ducats a year for rations and salary; the seven lesser officials, with their aids, one hundred and twenty, and the eight pages and six lackeys sixty-five ducats, as the staff was to be increased when Rome was reached. It would be interesting to know the wages of the nine servants; but unluckily here the paper of the manuscript is torn.

The house itself, which was to be "important and in a good part of the city," might cost up to six hundred ducats to hire.

The household of the Count of Ribagorza is also specified. The doctor was to use the Duke's horses and coach. Of the four gentlemen,

one was to serve the cup, another the dishes, and the other two the towels to the Duke and his son or any important guest.

Another quaint item is "two beautiful mares, with an elegant coach for the Duke, and two horses for the other coach of the gentlemen and friends." There were to be six other well bred horses, and a "fine palfrey for the Duke."

The canopy in the chapel was to be of coloured velvet with a border of cloth of gold, and everything required for divine service was to be taken; also two chasubles, which by an ingenious plan were to be red and green lined with white and crimson, to be turned inside out, in conformity with the festivals; there were also to be altar frontals, but it is not said if the same economical arrangement was to be extended to them.

The first room of the house, "which is big, has no tapestry, only a large table, covered with a common cloth; this will serve for the grooms and lackeys, who are in waiting, who may amuse themselves with a chess board." The description of the three adjoining rooms is equally minute. In the dining room the walls were to be hung with good tapestry, and leather in the summer, the dinner table was to be covered with a rich cloth, and be set under the velvet canopy on which was to be embroidered the arms of the

Duke with a border of cloth of gold. There were to be four gilt chairs covered with velvet, and a dozen or fourteen others covered with leather, besides settles painted with the Duke's arms, as only he and his son and the two principal gentlemen were to use chairs, except guests of mark. The dais was to be in the best room, and was to be mounted by four steps, and to have a railing round it, and to be sheltered by a great canopy of embroidered cloth with the Duke's arms on a velvet shield, and there was to be a table outside the dais for cups and bottles. The third room, which was to be hung in winter with velvet, or damask, and in summer with taffety, was to have a bed and a chair and a bureau covered with cloth to match. On the table was to be a small silver bell and a clock.

It does not transpire why the chamber was to be thus furnished, as it was not Don Martin's bedroom; his bed hangings were only to be of cloth with borders and valances of blue and green velvet, or cloth of gold, and in the summer of taffety or damask. The rest of the room, including the table cloth, was to be decked out to match. On the table there was to be an image. Beyond was a closet where either a page or a valet was to sleep. Not one word is there about any arrangement for washing. Fashions evidently had changed much since the days when

on the arrival of a knight at some castle of mediæval Spain, the first act of hospitality was to prepare him a hot bath, literally a wooden tub.

The hall, where the servants waited when it got dark in winter, was to be lighted by a torch in a candlestick, and in each room two candles set in candlesticks were to burn on the tables, and the wax was to be white ; but the courtyard and the middle of the staircase were to be lighted with lanterns burning tallow candles.

“ Plate is necessary,” says the document, and it goes on to specify, with great exactitude, how much. Sixty small and twenty big plates ; but only four dishes, two of them gilt. Eight candlesticks and six cups, nine jugs and two flasks, three salt-cellars, two pepper pots, two dozen forks, and forks and spoons, a brazier, a salver such as cardinals and princes use, two porringers and “ refrigerators of silver in time of snow,” probably meaning when snow was obtainable for the purpose.

Were they not so in themselves, these details would be interesting as another sidelight on the mind of the sovereign of the two hemispheres, who in the impossible task of centralizing this vast empire in himself led a life of grim drudgery, and who must needs settle at headquarters such epoch-making questions as that his envoy was

only to burn tallow candles on his staircase, and that the lackeys of the antechamber might relieve the tedium of their calling by a game of chess.

CHAPTER XVII

IT would not appear that Doña Ana's efforts at the Court led to any good results. In the maze of intrigue it is only difficult to decide whether Philip allowed himself unconsciously to be urged along by pricks from the Count of Chinchon's spur, or whether on the other hand, he played off the naturally sore feelings of his minister to gain his own ends. This, at least, is the opinion of a modern writer, and Señor Melida himself thinks that the inhabitants of Ribagorza were stimulated from outside in their hatred of their Count and impatience of his yoke, fresh signs of which they shortly showed, probably in 1578 or 1579, though one contemporary manuscript places it ten years earlier, and says that Don Martin went to Benabarre with his eldest son, who was then Don John.

All the letters which have been preserved, however, seem to point to the later date.

Complaints having been made about some of his officials to the Duke, he set out for Benabarre to hold a council and, as far as was possible, to redress the wrongs of his lieges. At this con-

ference the inhabitants demanded a reduction of taxation ; the Duke, knowing that this was contrary to the fief and suspecting that it was nothing but a net spread to catch him, refused to give an answer at that time, but promised to return and hold another council, and so went back to Saragossa. He was as good as his word, and sent his son to the county ahead of him. Meanwhile things had gone from bad to worse, and the ringleaders had armed seven hundred men, whom they brought to Benabarre to prevent the meeting being held. To show that they were really in earnest they began by laying siege to the house where the Duke was staying with his son and a score or so of servants.

For three days the siege lasted, and the rising increased. The rebels then went to parley with their lord, telling him that, as his rights had already expired, they warned him to leave the town and the county as quickly as possible, threatening him with death if he acted otherwise.

The Duke, seeing the armed mob and their determined attitude, resolved to quit the town with his son and avoid the danger. So they left the house where they were lodging, and the inhabitants of Ribagorza drew themselves up in two lines the whole length of the street and made the Duke pass down the middle with Mosen Nabal, the Commissioner of the Inquisition, who

went with his wand raised. The rebels stood with their firelocks pointing to the ground, to show that Don Martin and his party were in no danger. They waited till he had passed, and then betook themselves to a hill near the city, where these unruly lieges let off their arquebuses into the air, in the direction the Duke had gone, to show their independence.

After these studied insults it may have been agreeable to receive such an obsequious letter as that which Antonio Pérez wrote to Don Martin from Madrid on October 8, 1578, clearly in answer to more than one asking for his support. It bears a strange family likeness to those the secretary employed to lure Don John of Austria to his undoing, and its honied words do not ring very true, as he deplures the Duke's worries and wishes he could offer help to his very illustrious lordship, who was to regard him as a faithful servant, whose pleasure would be to do everything in his power as long as he lived.

He then goes on to say about matters communicated to him, "Nor do I quite understand a paper which came with the first letter, I cannot answer by writing, for this reason I think the best thing will be for Don Martin (the Duke's namesake and third son) to see me, either here or on the road ; if it pleases him to come here it might well be done secretly ; and without harming anyone I could offer him hospitality

in my country house¹ and there we could meet and talk. Your lordship will see to it and order what you please ; meanwhile believe that I am serving you, as I will continue to do as long as I live."

Though, as he goes on to protest, he can do more good privately than publicly, still he desires openly to espouse the Duke's cause or be his servant, as he puts it. Don Martin had apparently offered to lend him a house to go for a holiday with his wife and family. This, it would seem, Antonio Pérez had once refused, but now he wished to accept the loan. "If I did not accept before," he continues, "it was not because I was not your lordship's friend, but because they told me that it was outside the town, a country house ; but having heard where it is, though it is rather far from the Palace, I accept the favour for my outing and pleasure."

Beyond the fact that the house was near St. Dominic's there is no clue to its situation. Antonio Pérez having not only a palatial residence in Madrid, but a beautiful country place just outside, would not require any accommodation there, and if the proffered house was in Saragossa, it is very unlikely that he would run the risk of absenting himself for so long from the King's side. At this time Pérez was still in

¹ No doubt the celebrated Casilla near Madrid.

royal favour, and it was not until four years later that he was taken and tortured, and that his long trial and exile began. The wife he mentions was Doña Juana de Coello Bozmediano, who stands out as one of the heroic spouses of history.

Emboldened by the success of their first attempt, the inhabitants of Ribagorza behaved no better when the Duke, being ill himself, and not wishing to fail those of his lieges who were faithful to him, sent his two sons, Don Hernando and Don Martin, to hold a council at Benabarre, escorted by a royal councillor. Once more the rebels invaded the town to prevent the meeting, and laid siege to the house where the two young men were staying.

As the mob tried to pull down the doors and burn those inside, shouting "Fire, fire, death to the traitors," the besieged, not unnaturally, became alarmed and resolved to go, accompanied by a priest, the Commissioner of the Inquisition, to a new house of his which was easier to defend. Here they were for some days, as all the houses and windows held arquebuses. In view of this "shame and treason" as the old document calls it, the young men elected to ask the opinion of several monks who had been among the people, and who frankly told them that if they did not leave within a few hours they would be taken and killed. Thinking that the monks knew

what they were talking about, and realizing their great danger, the counts went to "another place near."

After this adventure Don Martin lost all hope of getting the better of his subjects and therefore had recourse to the Courts of Justice of Aragon, where he lodged a complaint against them, asking that they might be punished as the law provided.

These steps also proved useless. A councillor of the Court, sent to summon witnesses, was not only prevented from executing his duty, but was ill treated and wounded so as to be helpless for life. Then a lieutenant of Justice, a deputy of the Kingdom, and a juryman of Saragossa, were dispatched to Benabarre with an escort of horses and arquebuses ; but they met with no better success. For no sooner had they reached their lodging and hung the mace and other distinguishing marks of their office out of the window, than the people rose, shooting at the house and preventing the officers from carrying out their duties. Though the Court of Justice and the Royal Court of Appeal of Aragon tried and condemned some of the rebels to death, these sentences were not carried out ; "owing to the state of the country and the weakness of justice," to quote the Marquis de Pidal.

More and more encouraged by these successes the rebels determined to further organize their

resistance. The ringleader was a native of Calasanz, one John de Ager, a strong and clever man, who, calling himself "Procurador" of the County, began to raise soldiers and deposed all the Duke's officials. He was also named mayor, together with one of the rich inhabitants of Benabarre named John Giles de Nacian, under whom was a guard of fierce, lawless men, and the two were absolute masters of the county. Naturally the people who remained loyal to Don Martin fared but badly at their hands, and a contemporary manuscript history throws light on a sorry story.

"They entered the dwelling of one named Mongai, the archivist, who was in favour of the rights of the Counts, past and future. Not finding him, they so upset his wife that it caused her to have a miscarriage, and both she and the baby died; then they went to the Archives, which they unlocked, taking out the writings and doing what they pleased with them; from there they went to the house, I mean the prison, and taking the key from the gaoler, let all the prisoners out. Without authority or justice so they proceed until now, like a mutinous republic, without any government."

Not content with all this, they besieged some men who had taken refuge in the Church, who had displeased the mob by saying that it was tyrannical. The clergy even were not allowed

to enter the Church, either to say mass or celebrate the sacraments, for fear lest they might help those shut up whom the besiegers hoped to kill by hunger. Five or six hundred men came with banners raised and beating drums and blowing trumpets, shouting "Death! Death!" and hurling insults at those inside; and even trying to pull down a part of the wall. The townsfolk and clergy began to think that the siege had lasted too long, stopping as it did the services in the Church, so they took the matter in hand and promised peace to those inside if they would open the doors; but behind the clergy came the soldiers, and instead of keeping their word they seized those inside, handcuffed them and took them to prison, and placing them before the executioner threatened that they should be garotted; the priests with all their might protesting against this breach of faith, so that the most that was done to them was capturing them and taking their arms away. One called Martin de la Tenera was dealt many stabs with a knife and left for dead. Dominic Omemalos de Loarre was shot in public without anyone interposing.

Peter Vallonga, the tailor of Montanana, was killed, also one Peralta de la Sal, and a son of the Lord of Blancaforte; and the tailor of Sarrate and his son were shot inside the prison, also the tailor of Benabarre and a "justero" and

another man ; they also killed the curate of St. Testia ; and in the Square of the Dead Calf they killed a cleric called Mosen Collada and threw him over a cliff after he was dead.

The Marquis of Pidal thus writes of the affair, " This state of things lasted for many years, more than ten, and it is incredible that in the reign of Philip II, who was so jealous of his authority and the public peace, such a state of things should have been allowed to exist, unless the explanations of contemporary writers be accepted, and we suppose that the Court, or the Count of Chinchon, tolerated and favoured the rebels, either in revenge towards the house of Villahermosa, or to flatter the King, who desired to extend his authority over the county."

Probably Don Martin realized that the situation was hopeless. Was it for this that Philip named his former playmate the " Philosopher of Aragon " ?

CHAPTER XVIII

IF rebellious vassals and domestic sorrows failed to ruffle the calm temper of the Philosopher of Aragon during these dark days, he was to experience a shock, which not only shook his imperturbability, but affected him so deeply that, according to Padre Muniesa, he was thenceforward a changed man.

One day in 1576, while he was staying in Saragossa, his great friend the Bishop of Huesca, Don Diego de Arnedo, came to see him. While in his company, to the Duke's horror, the Bishop was seized with a fit and fell down dead. The news was not long in running through the city, and terror-stricken crowds flocked to gaze on the remains.

As the Bishop had died in his house Don Martin would not allow the body to be removed, and resolved to give it burial among his own people. He first had the corpse placed in the Monastery of Preaching Brothers, which was close to his house, and then with all due honours conveyed it to Pedrola.

The Monastery of Preaching Brothers was one of those that Don Martin now employed himself

in adorning, together with many other churches, instead of as formerly, says Padre Norell, delighting in embellishing his own house with valuable pictures and furniture ; which apparently means that he gave up adding to his collections. So the “ Discourses ” belong to happier times.

He began to emulate the life of the holy Duchess while at home, and at intervals withdrew to retreats in the quiet cloister of Veruela ; taking part in the life of the community and singing the offices in the choir of the Chapel, where many years before his father had hung up his banner. All this does not seem to have made him happy, however, and under the weight of his many troubles he became depressed like his father before him.

Referring, presumedly, to the sudden death of his friend, the unfortunate Duke exclaimed, “ Who can say that the same thing will not soon happen to me ? Vassals, estates, bravery, riches and honour, what good will they do me ? Of what comfort and use can the vanities of the world be to me ? ” and much more in the same strain, ending with the reflection that a whole lifetime is short in which to learn how to die.

Vanity of vanity, all is vanity—such was the burden of his song, like that of the unknown preacher of old.

His infirmity probably added to his melan-

choly, as it is unlikely that the attack of stone, from which he died, was the first from which he suffered. In April of 1581 he was taken ill, and rapidly grew worse. Feeling himself to be dying he dictated his will.

He desired to be buried by the side of the holy Duchess in the Church of Pedrola, and ordered that the grave was only to be opened again to receive the remains of his second wife.

He wished that his coffin should be covered with black velvet adorned with a cross of crimson satin, and that coats of arms should ornament the border of the canopy ; he also wanted to be embalmed and arrayed in the habit of a Cistercian, which he wore from devotion. It is probable, however, that he was not embalmed, as when, on account of some alterations, his remains and those of Doña Luisa were disinterred, it was noticed, in contrast to hers, that the Duke's had shared the "fate common to buried bodies."

He also willed that his heart and that of Doña Luisa should be taken to the parish church of Villahermosa and there placed in chests with a little canopy of silk over them and laid near the high altar, as a sign of the affection he had for this town ; his intestines in a leaden case were to be taken to the Monastery of Veruela and interred, as the abbot directed, covered with a stone of white marble with his arms

and an inscription, stating that they were there.

He ordered many prayers for his own soul and that of Cardinal Sarmiento, the uncle who had been the mentor of his youth at Compostella, also for the Bishop of Huesca, and for those who had been "accomplices in his sins." He mentions that he had left a book in the Monastery of St. Engracia at Saragossa in which would be found stated what he bequeathed to his servants, his debts, and other wishes, disposing of all his property such as jewels and tapestry over which he had power ; but that if his son Don Hernando wished to acquire them, the ruby ring whose value was 500 pounds, the gold bed with spangles or the bed of damask and cloth of gold were not to be sold.

He left a legacy with which to enlarge and beautify the church at Pedrola, according to drawings in the aforesaid book. The site of his grave and Doña Luisa's was to be between his father's and the altar. It was to be covered with jasper and black Calatora marble, the lettering filled in with tin, level with the floor, which was to be tiled. Overhead were to hang "two ducal coronets of gilt wood as hats are hung over the tombs of bishops."

His widow was to be asked if she desired to be buried there ; in which case there were to be three stones and three coronets.

His estates he divided among his children. The town of Cortes in Navarre, over whose possession he was having a lawsuit, was to belong to his eldest son, if the cause was gained.

To this son he also bequeathed his suit of gilt armour, and the horse trapping of crimson cloth of gold. Don Martin was to have the suit of black and gilt armour and trappings of red velvet and cloth of silver ; and a black and gold suit was to be Don Francisco's. To the daughter of his second marriage he left a blue damask bed with fringes of gold, besides a blue and yellow silk awning and two diamonds.

The house in Saragossa with all its pictures and garden was to be his widow's for life, together with a gold cross and the heads of two of the 11,000 virgins, given him in Cologne long years before. After the demise of Doña Maria they were to come back to the family. She too was to be one of the six executors.

Having thus arranged his affairs Don Martin desired that for the remainder of his span of life he should not be treated as a great lord, but as a " vile worm and miserable sinner." Full of deep contrition he asked for and received the Sacraments. Then calling the Duchess and his children to his bedside he took leave of them ; afterwards receiving Extreme Unction.

While a priest was commending his soul, he kissed a crucifix and, imploring the protection

of the Virgin, passed away on April 19, 1581, in his house at Saragossa as his father and mother and wife had done before him.

He was buried at Pedrola by the side of Doña Luisa ; but though his funeral was conducted, doubtless, with no less pomp than hers, no details have come down to posterity.

There is a long paper in the family archives of secret notes which Don Martin made concerning the money owing by the Crown, and the diminution of his fortune.

Señor Melida says of him that, "He showed the same even temper in good as in evil fortune ; brave in the one and not downcast in the other, he unceasingly defended the liberties of his Kingdom and the honour of his house, so that he, who could best reward his loyalty and soften the rigour of justice, was certainly right in calling the Duke the 'Philosopher of Aragon.' "

The misfortunes of the family did not end with Don Martin's life.

On the death of the luckless Don John his next brother, Don Hernando, who was destined to be a priest and had even become a Prior, abandoned Orders. The year following his father's death he married Doña Juana de Wernstein.

This lady came from Prague in the train of Philip II's sister the Empress Maria, who broke her journey to Madrid at Saragossa and was present at the wedding in the Palace, on

Saturday, February 19, 1582. The cathedral archives add, "The same day, after dinner, her Majesty left for Madrid in the same way she had entered Saragossa, taking with her the newly married Duchess."

On her Majesty's entry it is told that the Duchess of Villahermosa went behind the royal litter, riding a hackney, on a silver saddle and very richly dressed. No doubt she was one of the ladies who, with the Empress, looked on the swollen river "with much contentment" as they crossed the bridge in the gathering dusk of that spring evening.

In a letter she wrote to the ambassador in Vienna, Doña Juana says she has been very ill for a year; but that there was another daughter in the ducal house.

By virtue of the sentence of the Courts in 1586 the rights of the County of Ribagorza were confirmed to Don Hernando. The decision caused fresh trouble among the malcontents. Two years later, with the King's consent, this had to be suppressed by an armed force, which succeeded in making itself master of Benabarre and putting the leader John de Ager to death. All this was in vain, as the Duke in his turn had to yield to the royal wish which demanded that the County should pass to the Crown in exchange for two commanderies in the Kingdom of Valencia. In 1591 the County was taken

possession of in the name of the King by Alonso Celdran.

Don Hernando, whom his brother describes as being a most even tempered, loyal and straightforward man, and who had counselled the King and his ministers very wisely, and had even exposed his life in the rising in Saragossa in 1591, was rewarded by being put in prison.

When arrested he remained happy and smiling, in contrast to the Count of Aranda, who was most distressed and mortally pale.

Don Hernando was taken to the Castle of Burgos, and thence to that of Miranda, where he died of fever rather less than a year later on November 6, 1592. Philip II, on receiving the news, paid a tribute to the man he had ill-used, by saying that the Duke had served him faithfully by word and deed as a true and loyal vassal.

He was succeeded by his brother Don Martin, who after serving with distinction in the wars in Sicily was shot in Barcelona, at the instigation of a former servant of the family.

The next brother, Don Francis, to whom so much of the information in this book is due, now became the last Count of Ribagorza. On him fell all the brunt of the struggle, which he sustained with every means in his power ; but at last had to yield, and accept from Philip III the title of Count of Luna with the same precedence

as that of Ribagorza gave, and in 1600 50,000 pounds of Jaen in lieu of the two Commanderies. Thus ended the long lawsuit.

Duke Hernando and Doña Juana never had a son, therefore he was succeeded in the dukedom by his daughter Doña Maria Luisa, who was very beautiful, and was one of the ladies of Queen Margaret of Austria. She married her second cousin, Don Carlos de Borja, in 1610.

Doña Ana, the eldest daughter of the holy Duchess, who rivalled her mother in piety and charity, married her cousin the Viscount de Evol, and died young of a fever which she caught from a poor person whom she was nursing in the palace of her great uncle, the veteran Archbishop of Saragossa. She left a son, the Count of Guimerá, who also has supplied material for this life of his grandparents.

At Doña Luisa's death Don Martin had placed his two younger daughters in the Convent of St. Inez at Saragossa. Here they grew up and eventually took the veil. The elder, Sor Maria, was famous for her almsgiving, and died long before her sister Sor Inez, who became Prioress, and was much beloved for her gentle ways.

When Philip II came to Saragossa in 1599 he went to visit the Convent. On reaching the cell of Sor Inez his eye was caught by a picture in it, and, no doubt to confirm what he already

knew, he asked the Marquis de Denia, who was in attendance, whose portrait it was.

"It is that," was the reply, "of Don Martin of Aragon, Count of Ribagorza and Duke of Villahermosa."

"It is a good likeness," answered the King.

"Your Majesty will see a living likeness," continued the Marquis, "in the Duke's daughter whose cell we are now in."

Sor Inez who had modestly kept in the background then came forward, and, lifting her veil, knelt and kissed the King's hand, thanking him for the honour he was doing the house by coming there.

Doubtless Philip's face showed no emotion ; but who shall say what thoughts came to him as he stood, an old man, before the picture and the daughter of his childhood's playmate the Philosopher of Aragon ?

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

ROLAM DE MOIS

As has been already stated, what is told about the little-known master Rolam de Mois has been gleaned from notes, which the Duke of Luna most kindly made, and from the preface of the "Discourses" by Señor Melida, who says that he obtained his information from "Discursos practicables del noblissimo Arte de la Pictura" by Jusepe Martinez, Painter to Philip IV, a treatise republished in 1866 by the Royal Academy of San Fernando, with notes by Don Valentin Carderera.

There are, however, short notices of this painter in other works.

Don Juan César Bermudez mentions him in the "Diccionario Historico," published in Madrid in 1800; so does Nagler in "Neues Allgemeine Künstler Lexicon," published in Munich 1843, and the "Dictionaire Repertoire de Peintres," by Mademoiselle Errera, published last year by Hachette, also refers to him. All these authorities state that Rolam, or Rolan

Mois as they generally call him, was taken from Italy about the end of the sixteenth century by the Duke of Villahermosa to adorn his country house. The information is probably as inaccurate as the date (which was 1559), but it bears testimony to the repute in which Rolam de Mois was held as an artist—at any rate in his own day. The fame of obscure painters does not live through the centuries.

The pictures, says Señor Carderera, commend themselves by “their Titianesque colouring and the care and fine touch shown in the details.” He avers their number to be ten, which now are all at Madrid in the Villahermosa Palace. They form part of a series of thirteen family portraits, beginning with King John II of Aragon, by an unknown painter. All those attributed to Mois are reproduced in this book except the one of Doña Isabel de Cardona, Don Alonso Felipé’s first wife, who does not belong to the story.

Señor Melida thinks that the portrait of the first Duke (also Master of the Order of Calatrava), from its similarity to the others, must be added to the list. The “Granduque” is dressed all in black, his ermine-lined cloak embroidered in gold.

The following list, shortened from Señor Melida’s description, may perhaps be of interest.

Don Juan de Aragón, Count of Ribagorza, Duke de Luna, wears on his breast the white



DON ALONSO DE ARAGÓN, FIRST DUKE OF VILLAHERMOSA
*From picture thought to have been painted by Rolam de Moiss in the
Villahermosa Palace, Madrid*



Cross, insignia of his office, as Castellan de Amposta, and is dressed in black with silver fastenings, with an overcoat of cloth of gold lined with martin.

Doña Maria de Gurrea, Countess of Ribagorza, his wife, called the Rica Hembra, has a dress of red velvet or plush, her sleeves tied with white ribbons finished with golden tags and undersleeves of pink silk. Her ornaments are of gold enamelled.

Don Alonso Felipe de Gurrea Aragón, Count of Ribagorza, their son, is dressed in black trimmed with ermine; in his hand he carries a Moorish dagger, with a large tassel hanging from its sheath.

Doña Ana Sarmiento de Ulloa, Countess of Ribagorza, third wife of the above, in widow's dress of black cloth, with white head-dress and veil.

Don Martin de Gurrea y Aragón, Count of Ribagorza, Duke of Villahermosa, their son, wearing armour inlaid with gold, a red sash and white trunk hose, shoes and stockings. His helmet is on a table covered by a red velvet cloth. This picture is thought to have been painted in 1560, when he was 34.

Another of Don Martin, aged 30, wearing a black cap with white feather, a black-cloth doublet and sleeves of cloth, yellow to match his stockings and shoes. This picture was

painted while he was absent from Spain and possibly may have been a present for his wife.

Doña Luisa de Borja y Aragón, Duchess of Villahermosa, called "La Venerable." Her dress is of black velvet, with jewelled buttons and gold loops over a pink under-dress trimmed with silver. Her girdle and head-dress are adorned with jewels and her veil is fastened with a brooch of gold and diamonds, from which hang three baroque pearls.

Don John de Aragón y Borja, their eldest son, wears a black cap with jewels and a white feather, a cape of black velvet over his doublet; his sleeves are gauged and of white and gold, like his trunk hose, his shoes and stockings white. This picture too is thought to belong to 1560.

Doña Ana de Aragón y Borja, afterwards Viscountess de Evól, aged 14, his sister, who is dressed in black velvet opening over an under-dress of white embroidered cloth. Her ornaments are golden with jewels.

Inquiries in Holland have thrown no further light on Rolam de Mois; but Don Elias Tormo, of the Royal Academy of San Fernando, who is acknowledged to be the best authority on the subject, informs me that the altarpiece in the Convent of Tafalla in Navarre is painted by the same artist, the only sacred picture known to be his work.¹ Possibly Señor Tormo

¹Unfortunately this cannot be photographed.

may yet make discoveries, as it seems curious that a painter well known when he left Flanders, and who afterwards portrayed "every one of note," should have left so few examples of his art, and it would lead to the conclusion that in the convents and country houses of Spain, if not in those of the Netherlands or even of England, portraits either unnamed or masquerading under the cloak of some better-known master are really from the brush of Rolam de Mois.

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